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PIERS THE PLOWMAN.

"Men will call a universal satirist like Langland a 'morning star of the Reformation,' or some such rubbish; whereas the Reformation was not larger, but much smaller than Langland. It was simply the victory of one class of his foes, the greedy merchants, over another class of his foes, the lazy abbots."—G. K. Chesterton.

WERE we to compare modern times with the life of 650 years ago, there would immediately be evident some striking differences. Since literature is to a large extent the reflection of social and intellectual history, there are also some striking differences between our writings of to-day and those of so many centuries past. The fourteenth century was an age in advance of the Protestant Revolt; and so Catholicism loomed large across the literature.

Nor is it fantastic so to speak of the age of Piers the Plowman. Learning and letters were centred about the monasteries and the clerics. Chaucer speaks of "pleyes of miracles." The beginnings of English drama were in the Church. Malory's mediæval romances are distinctly Catholic in tone, symbolizing in the quest of the Grail the very Mass itself. Miss Mary Segar has recently published a charming "Mediæval Anthology"¹ containing verse to the Five Wounds of Christ, to God's Mother and to innumerable other vivid subjects which were illumined by the bright faith of those times. Mr. Patterson has collected in a scholarly volume some "Middle

¹ Longmans, Green & Co.

English Penitential Lyrics.”² Dan Chaucer wrote devoutly into his Canterbury series “The Prioress’ Tale,” “The Tale of Melibeus,” “The Persones Tale” and “The Second Nonnes Tale.” The two poems by an author or authors unknown, “Cleanness” and “Patience,” are as exquisite religious verse as perhaps the world shall ever see.

And one man wrote “The Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman.” Scholars dispute if it was the work of one or of several hands. They suggest that perhaps it was a simple priest of London who produced this work, William Langland. But what are all these varieties of judgment? It is possible, as Carlyle has said, to agree very tolerably except in opinion. And one point on which they do agree is in the sort of society which is represented, the kind of life from which this old manuscript came.

It is possible again to imagine the sort of man who wrote it. He would not have been much unlike Dan Chaucer’s Persoun:

“A good man ther was of religioun,
 That was a povre persoun of a toun:
 But riche he was of holy thoght and werk,
 He was also a lerned man, a clerk,
 That Cristes gospel trewely wolde preche;
 His parissshens devoutly wolde he teche.
 Benigne he was, and wonder diligent,
 And in adversitee ful pacient:
 And swich he was ypreved often sythes.
 Ful looth were him to cursen for his tythes,
 But rather wolde he yeven out of doute,
 Un-to his povre parissshens aboute,
 Of his offring, and eek of his substaunce.
 He coude in litel thing han suffisaunce.
 Wyd was his parisssh, and houses fer a-sonder,
 For he ne lafte nat for rain ne thonder,
 In siknes and in meschief to visyte
 The ferrest in his parisssh, mucche and lyt,
 Up-on his feet, and in his hand a staf.
 This noble ensample to his sheep he yaf,
 That first he wroghte and afterward he taughte.
 Out of gospel he tho wordes caughte:
 And this figure he added eek there-to,
 That if golde ruste, what shal iren do? . . .
 And though he holy were, and vertuous,
 He was to sinful men nat despitous,

Ne of his speche daungerous ne digne,
 But in his teching discreet and benigne
 To drawn folk to heven, by fairnesse,
 By good ensample, was his bisnesse:
 But it were any persone obstinat,
 What-so he were of heigh or lowe estat,
 Him wolde he snibben sharply for the nones.
 A bettre preet, I trowe that newher noon is.
 He wayted after no pompe and reverence,
 Ne maked him a spyced conscience,
 But Cristes lore, and his apostles twelve,
 He taught, but first he folwed it himselve.

This was the man who produced not only the Chaucerian treatise on penance or the songs to the Christ-Child, but the long poem in so many books on *Piers the Plowman*.

Granted that such a work should be studied textually so as to learn that one version dates from 1362, another from 1377 and a third possibly from 1392, granted that it should be scrutinized for something more than its mere art, we come to the poem itself.

One could go through the text and explain the political allusions. There is first the famous tale of the mice who would hang a bell about the dangerous cat (B. Prol., 146ff.), where the mice are the commons, the rats the lords and the cat the king, relating to the good Parliament of 1376, "And leten here laboure lost, and alle here lange studye." When reference is made to the catching of rabbits instead (B. Pro., 133), does it mean Frenchmen? Where the author says, "What this meteles bemeneth, ye men that be merye deuine ye" (B. Pro., 208-9), is he having a laugh at the passive mouse?³ Yet in the last analysis perhaps the gentle student, like the mice of old, considers his labor lost and all his long study in attempting such guesswork interpretations.

An attempt might be made to explain away some anachronisms. The passage

"For Daid in his dayes dubbed knigtes,
 And did him swere on here swerde to serue trewthe euere,"

(B. I., 102-3)

might be checked with the knightng of King Horn with an accolade in another old tale. But it is guesswork again.

Professor Skeat has cleared up many local allusions. "To Wy and Winchestre I went to the faire" (B., v. 205) refers to old gatherings at Weyhill, near Andover, in Hampshire, and to Winchester

³ D'Israeli: "Amenities of Literature" (I., 216), tries his wits at this.

fair on St. Giles Hill. Little incidents in Anglo-French diplomacy and warfare account for a long passage (c. iv., 232-243) and a short phrase, "Caleys to selle" (B. iii., 195). Direct political manipulation of the old kings by bribery is reflected in the accusation against Mead, "Yowre fadre she felled, thorw fals biheste" (B. iii., 120). But, though this is less guesswork than the other, it is equally unprofitable.

Another passage leads us to the main issue. In the case of a political pamphlet like Spenser's "Shepherd's Calendar" political interpretation is both useful and allowable. But in a religious poem like "Piers Plowman" the religious element is the useful thing. After an exposition of the Gregorian Rule (c. vi., 147ff.) and a severe condemnation of those who have wandered down the primrose paths, our author says:

"And zut shal came a kyng, and confesse zow alle,
And bete you, as the bible telleth, for brekyng of zoure reule,
And amende zow monkes, monials, and chanons
And put zou to zoure penaunce, *ad pristinum statum ire.*"
(C. vi., 169-172.)

This has been called an amazing prophecy of the activity of Henry VIII. in the abolition of the monasteries, assuming that it would take a powerful man to make the punishment fit the crime. The absurdity is writ large across the face of such a footnote.

First we must laugh if we attempt to think of Henry VIII. having an "object all sublime." The matrimonial and financial advantages of the break with Rome far outweighed any lofty ideal of *ad pristinum statum ire*, and the inflated tone given that revolt has become to all historians except Anglican divines a source of innocent merriment. The passage could not have been a prophecy. The use of the word "confesse" clearly indicates that the "kyng" meant as the one supreme King of Kings to all religions. The tone of the whole poem is distinctly religious, tending toward reform and not revolt. *Omnia restaurare in Christum* is merely the modern echo of *ad pristinum statum ire*. An able scholar, Mr. Rupert Taylor, has said in a volume on "The Political Prophecy in England"⁴ that we are too willing to read prophecies into the past. In many a case the man whom glib moderns hail as the "forerunner" of this movement or of that would have run before, not exultingly, but wildly; not with a torch of illumination, but with a red lantern for a danger signal. It all results from looking back rather than throwing ourselves back. We see always through the glasses of our own

⁴ The Columbia University Press.

time, and should not seize with avidity on chance passages, even on sly humor, as tremendously "indicative."

We could therefore disagree with Skeat's religious interpretations time and again and with the annotations of countless other loyal Anglican commentators. Often we need some one to explain the explanation. Too many have been Anglicans believing that an imaginary Renaissance caused an imaginary Reformation, assuming a grandeur unknown to the Protestant Revolt of petty princes, finding attacks where there were none. It is a matter of proper sympathy. For manly St. Paul, Gutzon Borglum is the proper American sculptor; for the Stations of the Cross, Mr. Barnard. The subject of *Piers Plowman* must be approached with care, with a knowledge of political and social history, a familiarity with the Church and with literature, and with the understanding that this is a difficult problem. Our writer has been studied almost exclusively by Anglican divines, and they have, naturally, misunderstood his simple priest's meaning. Against the background of Chaucer, the teller of tales, and Wiclif, the rampant reformer, they have made two great mistakes. With Wiclif they have mistaken anti-clericalism—exactly what it says, "against clericalism," not "against clerics"—for a Protestant movement, instead of realizing it as a Catholic mood. With Langland they have assumed that he was a critic of institutions when he was merely a critic of men, a plain parson telling sinners to mend their ways. Sometimes in detailed "notes," sometimes in general interpretation, these commentators have erred.

* * *

At the very beginning (B. Pro., 3) fault could be found with Skeat's note on "In habite as an heremite, vnholý of workes," taken "to express the author's opinion of hermits in general," for the "vnholý" is here used for the alliteration, and we know that Langland did not think thus "of hermits in general." The word means merely "lay" as opposed to cleric, and is used as is "lewede" in many other passages.⁵ Again, he has translated "All of the cardinales atte courte . . . inpugnen I nelle" in the King's Classics as "I dare not" when his own vocabulary says "*wish not*." It is once more a matter of sympathy. Also, speaking of the telling of *un-wise* tales by pilgrims and palmers, we get a clean bill for Langland as a Catholic author. If it were not clear from the rest of the poem it ought to be clear from his widely recognized irony in a passage where he says they "hadden leue to lye al here lyf after" (B. Pro., 49), that he did not believe—as he fears the pilgrims and

⁵ C. X. 140; B. Pro. 25-29; B. Pro. 72; B. iii., 32; B. iii., 148.

palmeres were all too eager to believe—that they could gain an indulgence, or leave to lie all their lifetime afterward. It is this nominal and unspiritual attitude against which he is continually inveighing.

Coming at the text thus to explain the religious allusions we find a large field for labor, some of the detail of which may be briefly indicated. Lechery (B. iii., 58) is roundly condemned because one of the Seven Deadly Sins. "Seynt James" (B. Pro., 47; B. v., 57) was the most prominent saint of pilgrims. The intercession of repentance for sorrowing penitents (B. v., 485-516) conforms to Church ritual *confessio* "in worde, thoughte, or dedes." The efficacy and the abuse of Sanctuary must be understood for a proper reading of another passage:

"Tyl pardoneres haued pite, and pulled hym in-to house."

(B. ii., 219.)⁶

a phrase "that in churche wepeth" (B. i., 178) does not refer to an unruly child at service as some might suppose, but to deep and true contrition, as explained, for instance, in Chaucer's "Person's Tale." A knowledge of the activities of the Franciscan lay preachers and of the quarrel between the parish priest and the wandering ones explains very easily why we should find a "confessoure coped as a frere" (B. iii., 35).⁷

But all this detailed annotation, however valuable in this individual instance, gives one only a scattered and a fleeting impression of connection between a manuscript and its time. It is in a wider way that the most valuable interpretation can be done.

In a broader sense, then, he is persistent and insistent on the supernatural in the Catholic faith. It is bad when (C. i., 102) prelates suffer "lewde men in mysby lyve, leuen and deien" like a good Catholic he finds fault with actual worship of images" (C. i., 118-124); and complains that "Here messe and here matynes, and many of here oures arn don indeuoutlych" (B. Pro., 97-8).

Further he emphasizes specific reward and punishments and is ecclesiastical at every turn of a phrase. There is a regular sermon on the Ten Commandments and they are continually mentioned.⁸ Men who have "chastite with-oute charite, worth cheyned in helle" (B. i., 186), giving us the true sense of charity as love of oneself and one's neighbor in God. Hell is not a mild earthly sorrow or regret, as the French rationalist Holbach would later have us believe, but something real and actual.

⁶ Cf., G. M. Trevelyan, *op. cit.*, pp. 115, 138-140.

⁷ Cf. also. B. ii., 210; B. ii., 230. and G. M. Trevelyan: "England in the Age of Wicliffe," pp. 89, 92.

⁸ C. viii., 204ff.; B. ii., 78-82; B. vii., 183.

"They shall have and hold, and their heirs ever after,
A dwelling with the devil, and be damned forever,
With th' appurtenances of purgatory, in the pain of hell;
Yielding for this thing, at one year's end,
Their souls unto Satan, to suffer like pains
With the wicked in woe, while God is in heaven."

(B. ii., 101-106.)

There we have it: supernatural punishment. Ordinary social reformers are too inclined to dwell on ordinary natural punishment, (as the French philosophers, Holbach and Helvetius,) as even our Catholic friend, Sir Thomas More. At times it seems that Langland is a trifle too inclined to adopt this point of view; but then he flashes through clear and sharp with an insistence on the necessity for true contrition, the loss of heaven and the pains of hell. That is usually his last shot, calculated perhaps to be the most effective.

To avoid this punishment Langland offers the alternative offered by Catholic doctrine. Ruled by Conscience, a man may avoid sin (B. iii., 119), but if he has sinned he may properly do penance on earth in place of feeling the pains of hell.⁹ But it must be done properly.¹⁰ The whole lesson of the end of Passus II. in the B-text is on the harm of improper contrition. What Chaucer wrote out formally in "The Persones Tale" is here delivered in allegorical form: the divine element in absolution and confession, the essence of true contrition, the resolution to sin no more, the intention to amend one's life by the aid of Divine grace and the help of God, and restitution and reparation.¹¹

Langland's preaching applies to all classes, "the lasse and the more" (B. ii., 45), and reminds one forcefully of a scene in a modern novel. In Benson's "The Dawn of All" a Pope is seen for one brief instant, at confession to his attendant priest; and the same theme is developed in two places in *Piers Plowman* (B. v., 607-9; B. vii., 176-8). Just so King Alla in Chaucer's "Man of Lawes Tole" goes to Rome

"to recognize his penance
And putte him in the popes ordinance
In heigh and low, and Jesu Crist
Foryeve his wikked werkes that he wroughte."

The forgiveness of sins and the value of the sacrament of penance as opposed to the Calvinistic theory of predestination is one of the most distinct points of difference between the rebels and the

⁹ C. iv., 101.

¹⁰ B. iii., 69-72; B. vii., 176; B. xiv., 384-9.

¹¹ B. iv., 104, 109, 142; B. v., 133, 309, 570, 626; B. v., 276-9, 298-303.

regulars at the time of the Protestant Revolt. This clear statement of the definite claims of the Church came just at the right time—before the vagueness of reactionary Protestant mysticism:

“For it is an unresonable religion that hath rizte nouzte of certeyne.”
(B. vi., 153.)

“For is no gult here so grete that hys goodnesse nys more.”
(B. v., 455.)

“Beleve-so or thow beest nouzte y-saved.” (B. v., 598.)

And so he writes the book for religious purposes, for

“Hit by-cometh for clerkus Crist for to seruen.” (C. vi., 62.)

And he tries to preach, not only in the fields in the day, but to the world when he writes in his study at night

“All tymes of my tyme to profit shal turne.” (C. vi., 101.)

Thus we find the poem shot through and through not only with chance allusions, but with doctrinaire intent. It was, as we know, supposed to have been written by a secular priest. We are told that it is an allegory. It differs from the allegory of the “Roman de la Rose,” which preceded it, and the allegory of the “Pilgrim’s Progress,” which followed it, by the fact that it is distinctly Catholic doctrine. It was an individual morality which the Roman put forth with nothing of the supernatural. It was a Protestant morality founded on a reading of the Bible alone which Bunyan produced. This is mediæval Christianity; not the glamour of idealized knighthood, as in the Arthurian tales, but the plain and sometimes disjointed preaching of a plain priest.

The most noteworthy resemblances of a superficial nature are that of a pilgrimage on the road meeting various significantly named characters (B. v., 568ff.) to “Pilgrim’s Progress” and that of the first setting of the scene that May morning on Malvern hills (B. Pro., 11-19) to the actual stage setting for a contemporary play, “The Castel of Perseuerance.”¹² This, it seems to me, is a very important point. Langland’s writing is not very philosophical or argumentative—at least when he talks about actual conditions—his figures are visualizations, pictorial, dramatic—in much the same manner as Bunyan’s “Pilgrim’s Progress.” The essentially dramatic instinct in the human race is seen in the Church services and in other methods of appeal that teach truths which are to be apprehended by persons not versed in the clarity of Aquinas and scholastic reasoning. The drama itself was at the first a method of

¹² Cf., V. Albright: “The Shakespearean Stage,” pp. 13-14.

illustrating and teaching religious truths. All allegories are dramatizations of ideas: and so is *Piers Plowman*!

We might criticize the poem because it is sometimes too digressive, too much inclined to wander at the least suggestion; and the reason is that it is really a didactic piece of work, really a sermon. It is not a consecutive drama, though it uses pictorial representation. It is a sermon in which obvious facts are taken as texts, commented upon and illustrated, as so many of the "*Gesta Romanorum*" were used. "*Infans et Mundus*" was dramatic without being a drama. So was *Piers Plowman*!

But before we examine a little further the definite social teaching, apart from the religious emphasis, it must be distinctly understood that this is a book of reform and not of revolution. Where Wiclif took sides and criticized from the outside, Langland produced internal criticism. He thought that each man should do his own task and do it well. "The poor have a poet in Langland." He depicts greed, oppression, knavery and bad relations between the classes. He is not against reform; he is on fire for it; but it must be reform from the irregular, the false, the officious. He has a catholicity in his clear spirit. He would reform the revolutionary reformers as well as the corrupted conservatives.

"Kynde witt wolde that eche a wyght wrouzte
Or in dykyngre or in deluyngre, or trauailling in preyers,
Contemplatyf lyt or actyf lyf, Crist wolde men wrouzte."

(B. v., 249-51.)

And the experience of centuries is thus repeated in thousands of parochial sermons the world over.

* * *

First he preaches vigorously against indifference and ignorance, indifference about religious duties, ignorance of religious faith, ignorance about doctrine, ignorance about the welfare of other folk. Just as a tragedy in dramatic technique is the result of a broken law, lawlessness in life results in like tragic circumstances, and layman and cleric are criticized equally.¹³ For sometimes it is, as Carlyle said, "We demand arrestment of the knaves and dastards, and begin by arresting our own poor selves out of that poor fraternity."

He complains that the peace is violated and enumerates all the wrongs that wrong has done in the land, including the oppression of the lower classes and the yeomen (B. iv., 48ff.). He enumerates the various social wrongs in the land.¹⁴ Where the tales of

¹³ B. iii., 93, 148; B. v., 13, 15, 232-239, 314ff., 404-8, 422; B. vii., 136-7; B. xiii., 384-9; C. iv., 121; C. x., 102-4.

¹⁴ B. i., 19; B. Pro., 129-130; B. v., 314ff.; C. iii., 129; B. iv., 48ff.

Chaucer, the Falstaff legend, the "Tunnyng of Eleanor Runnyng," are class satire: this is satire on wrong without being class satire. It attacks social injustice.

"Some ploughed with the plough; their play was but seldom;
Some sewing, some earning, with sweat of their brows,
The gain which the great ones in gluttony waste."

(B. Pro., 20-22.)

He tells of the poor of London, the poor lunatics, sham beggars and true ones, false hermits and true ones, faithful and unfaithful pastors (c. x., 71-280).

The chiefest of the wrongs which he attacks is Meed—bribery—daughter of Fals, who is no friend to Holichurche. He finds bribery in the clergy and condemns it.¹⁶ He finds sheriffs, sizers and sumnors saddled with silver, justices guilty of bribery, lords even and the king, and Meed has misled law which is loath to make an end, and overmastered it.¹⁶ He condemns bribery here, too. He finds the diplomatic bickerings with France riddled and perverted with bribery and condemns it there.¹⁷ To be sure he pauses to say, "There aren two manere of medes" (B. iii., 230), and explains that the real Meed is Reward, and there may be deserved rewards, even heavenly rewards, but that this reward idea has become so perverted that, separated from truth, it does harm everywhere, especially "Holy church thorw hem, worth harmed for eure" (C. iii., 248).¹⁸

The reason clericals were engaged in so many other occupations is very simple (B. Pro., 87). Men with brains had to be secured for certain civil positions, and these men had usually been given the monastic or clerical training, as Sir Thomas More becoming chancellor later, if you please. There were no other schools. And this confusion of ecclesiastical and of secular interests caused two great evils—first, the claim on their time became so great that in many cases they neglected their church duties (c. i., 102), so that many men even lived and died without proper instruction; and, secondly, these men were exposed to the tremendous corruption of the lay professions of the time (B. ii., 57-61). The solution of the difficulty is of course fairly simple. Langland suggests that men should render unto Cæsar only the things that are Cæsar's (B. i., 52-3), says that an intensive reform is needed where each man shall

¹⁶ B. ii., 20-23, 29, 33, 75-6, 161ff., 125, 230; B. iii., 36ff.; B. v., 169.

¹⁶ B. ii., 131-2; B. iii., 19, 154ff.; B. iv., 152, 174.

¹⁷ B. iii., 195; C. iv., 232ff.

¹⁸ Other references: C. iii., 132ff.; C. viii., 202; B. ii., 34-5, 139, 147, 163-5, 187, 194; B. iii., 164-8, 225-6, 244, 245, 288; B. vii., 39; B. iv., 10, 48, 87-93, 113-6, 157, 190-5.

dig his own little garden plot and dig it well (B. Pro., 205-7), and gives a simple and individualistic solution by saying that each man should begin at home (C. xviii., 58-71), and that just as a king should defend his people, so a good pastor should lay down his very life for his flock (C. xviii., 289-294): and then in a spiritual sense perhaps he may save "sixty thousand lyves" (C. iv., 234).

The poem of *Piers the Plowman* is a very important social document. But it is more. Let us start by assuming that there is something really wrong with the world and that men are actually in some degree unhappy, that some are overworked and underpaid, and others, overpaid and underworked, remain in idleness, "the norice un-to vyces," as Chaucer says. On the one hand, then, we have a man who foment class hatred, stirs up class struggles, persuades men that happiness is to be gained by active bitterness towards his oppressors. On the other hand, we have the true reformer who thinks that material things of themselves do not bring happiness if one is bitter at heart. The first wants a revolution, the second a reform. And in a complex organism like human society changes must be very slow if we really are to gain the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people.

Langland is a real reformer. He deprecates the arrogance of the peasantry, the awful pride of a "conscious minority" (as radicals call themselves) who think themselves so much better than the rest of the world. The "letter of love" is despised (B. i., 69), and real sympathy should rule any movement, sympathy and mutual understanding (B. i., 159ff.). The proud revolt of Lucifer and his fall is but one example of the intolerant rebel (c. vi., 188-9). The peasants' uprising of 1381 is a case in point—to the conditions of which Langland probably referred directly.¹⁹ He took no sides, he made no distinction between high and low, but only between right and wrong (B. ii., 45). He wished to avoid class struggles, because he knew that neither side was wholly right and neither wholly wrong. He wished to abolish all unkindness (B. i., 190; B. v., 143ff.), to establish peace, the most precious of virtues (B. i., 150), and to establish love between the two parties (B. i., 157-8). Both "the lasse and the more" needed improvement, the lower classes needed more material things, the upper more of a spirit of charity and kindness in the ordinary doings of life. And there could be no reform till the world were cleared of bribery, till the king as well as the poor man gained a little idealism, a little of the philosophy of his own and other people's happiness.²⁰

¹⁹ (B. vii., 62-65.) See also "*Vox Clamantis*" of Gower is referred to in H. de Gibbons' "*Industry in England*," p. 161, n. I.

²⁰ B. i., 83-4; B. iv., 134; B. iv., 190-5.

So he preaches to kings and knights and tells them to mend their ways, to be mindful of the poor, to restrict the damage of their reckless hunting over peasant fields. Each man should do his duty and gain happiness not through the pursuit of an ambition, but through simple industry. It was no mere chance that when the many people asked Piers the Plowman how they would find truth that he began by simply putting them to work.²¹

All classes must work, without ill feeling or hatred or envy, work with a vigorous sincerity. No loafing would be permitted. No landlord should take advantage of his peasants and no peasants try to gain advantage of their landlord. And from their work well done would come the deserved reward.²² In this way the world would be bettered. There would be justice and peace in the world, and each man would take his duties and tasks in their proper spirit.²³

But man would require a guide (B. v., 520). And this guidance as to the true and proper life he could gain by fulfilling his church obligations, by repenting of his past negligence in word, thought and deed (B. iii., 384-9). So the people and the conditions of the times were, according to Langland, not to be improved by creating ill-feeling, but by direct preaching to the individuals concerned by making each one fully cognizant of what he owed to his fellows. With a tremendous power of vivid description and forceful exposition, our author drives home the points of his long sermon. He preaches the Trinity (B. x., 230-248), the perpetual incarnation of God in the Church (B. ii., 29), and explains how the breaking of the Ten Commandments and the falling into the Seven Deadly Sins makes for trouble in this world—trouble for the individual, for the society of which he forms a part, and back again in a circle to the individual. "I am the Truth" has been the proud boast of the Catholic Church. In the days of Langland, as to-day, it firmly held that it was not a mere vague philosophy apart from life, but an actual rule of conduct which would make the world better. And if the world is worse it is merely because "the ten hestes" are not properly obeyed.

This is the teaching of Langland. He is a preacher preaching a social sermon—emphasizing the Scripture and the Faith in daily life, showing how these can cure the ills of the world if only accepted and followed. His teaching might well be duplicated to-day in every parish church in the country. It has, in fact, been dupli-

²¹ B. i., 94; B. vi., 150, 196-9; C. vi., 147-168; B. i., 173; B. iii., 311-12; B. v., 43; B. v., 147.

²² B. Pro. 120; B. iii., 307-8; B. v., 24-36, 43; B. vi., 30-3, 67-8, 220; B. vii., 39; C. x., 102-4, 110ff.

²³ B. iii., 288, 297-302; B. v., 400ff.

cated to some extent in Leo XIII.'s famous *De rerum novarum*. Respecting the rights of all, oppressing none, each man doing his own task, we may work to happiness and content.

Langland taught how it might be done 600 years ago. And yet to-day the same sort of class agitator persists in the same sort of class agitation which assails not the evil itself, but the conditions resulting from the evil. If we got rid of the sin of Pride, if we got rid of the sin of Covetousness, if we got rid of the sin of Luxury, if we got rid of all the sins which Langland attacked, and spread abroad a little of the charity and justice and sincerity which Langland advocates, the world to-day would be a marvelous place. And there would at least be no agitators promulgating hatred. If, like Piers the Plowman, we put all the discontented folks to work, Truth would come to light without a frantic search.

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THE VALIDITY OF ANGLICAN ORDINATIONS IN MODERN RUSSIAN THEOLOGY (1840-1866.)

OUTSIDE of the pale of the Catholic Church an old question of great historical value, viz., the question of the validity of Anglican Orders, is ceaselessly holding minds in suspense and calling forth the laborious investigations of ecclesiastical scholars. I say outside of the pale of the Catholic Church, inasmuch as the long debated question has been definitively settled by the bull "Apostolicae Sedis." The supreme authority in matters spiritual, he whom the Christian tradition names the chief pastor of the flock of Christ, pronounced and declared that "Ordinations carried out according to the Anglican rite have been and are absolutely null and utterly void." "*Roma locuta est, causa finita est.*" Of course, the negative pronouncement of Rome did not and never will meet the agreement or the submission of the Anglican Church and of her offspring, the American Episcopal Church. It has been, indeed, a blow inflicted upon the vital parts of the Anglican body, and not to seek to avert the stroke would be for the Anglican Church a sentence of death. No wonder then if Anglican controversialists are toiling and moiling to confute the verdict of the infallible *magisterium* of the Church. They make no account of the reasons, both historic and dogmatic, upon which the apostolic letter "Apostolicae curae" is based and they prefer to appeal to their own secret consciousness of being truly ordained ministers of Christian priesthood. Thus indeed one of them writes: "Whilst recognizing that there have been many faults on our part in the past and in the present, we are yet well aware that we have never departed from the unity of the Catholic Church. We therefore confidently believe that the grace of our Orders remains unimpaired, as we are persuaded that historically and canonically alike our succession is unassailable, and we look forward to the time when both these things will be recognized throughout the whole Church." (W. E. Collins). I could not say whether that time will ever come. In any case, it seems likely, rather it seems certain, that the claims of Anglicans as to the validity of their own orders and sacraments will never be recognized by the Catholic Church. Yet a ray of hope shines from the East: *Ex Oriente lux!* A great part of Christianity, the so-called Orthodox of the Eastern Churches, though separated from the centre of ecclesiastical unity, are possessed of a valid hierarchy, of a priesthood that preserves the unbroken apostolic succession and the most precious treasures of the Catholic faith. Now it is a recognized fact that the Eastern Churches as yet have not promulgated any official document deny-

ing the validity of Anglican Orders, and their silence is generally interpreted in an optimistic sense by optimistic Anglicans. For instance, the author of the best handbook of the history of the Greek Church, the Anglican clergyman, Alexander Hugh Hore, writes as follows: "The Greeks invite our clergy into the Sanctuary during the celebration of **their Liturgy**; they treat our Bishops as they do their own: *they admit the validity of our orders*, and hold that marriages performed by English priests are valid. They bury our dead, when no English clergyman is present: they frequently ask members of our Church to **stand sponsors for their children**; they themselves stand sponsors for English children, according to the English Prayer-Book, and promise that they shall be brought up in the faith of the English Church."¹

Do these statements conform to the reality of things? Do the bright hopes of Anglican divines rest on solid ground, on the explicit declarations of the Eastern Churches or on the authoritative teaching of Eastern theology? The answer to these questions ought to be given not by the Church of England, which has her own interests to forward both in Russia and in Greece, but by the Eastern Churches themselves, which more than once have been prompted to pass judgment upon the validity of Anglican orders. And we can ascertain that this judgment has already been uttered by competent authorities, and that it does not satisfy the secret hopes and long-caressed yearnings of Anglican Grecophiles.

The recent history of the question of the validity of Anglican ordinations in Greek and Russian theology starts with the first visit to Russia of Deacon William Palmer, Fellow of St. Mary Magdalene College in the University of Oxford (1840-1841.) According to Cardinal Newman, William Palmer was an earnest-minded and devout man, a scholar deeply convinced of the great truth that our Lord has instituted, and still acknowledges and protects a visible Church, one, individual and integral, and holy, as being the dispenser of His word and Sacraments.²

From a Catholic point of view, the conviction of the Anglican divine had nothing objectionable. The true Church of Christ is one, and holy, and, still more, is visible. But Palmer wrongly conceived the unity of the Church, that unity which is one of the main characteristics of the true Church of Christ. He professed that the one, visible Catholic Church on earth is divided into three local parts, all agreeing in the necessary faith, viz., the Orthodox Eastern Churches and the Western: the latter being subdivided into the

¹ "Eighteen Centuries of the Orthodox Greek Church," London, 1899, pp. 671-672.

² Palmer, "Notes of a Visit to the Russian Church in the Years 1840-1841," selected and arranged by Cardinal Newman, London, 1882, p. 13.

Continental and the British.³ It was through misunderstandings that the true Catholic Church divided herself into three communions.⁴ As concerns their faith, liturgies and discipline, the Eastern Churches are nearer to the old undivided Church. On the contrary, the Roman Church was led astray by her novelty-loving spirit, and consequently withdrew from the communion of the Eastern Churches and became guilty of the great sin of schism. Finally, the Anglican Church preserves most of the treasures of the true faith bequeathed by the Roman Church and longs for an intimate reunion with the Eastern Orthodox Churches. Hence it follows, Palmer argued, that the Blood of Christ and sacramental grace still run in the veins of the three disjoined parties of the mystical Body of Christ. This being so, the Anglican Church is possessed of a legitimate priesthood; the sacraments conferred by her Bishops are valid to the full extent of the word; the ties binding her with the Eastern Churches are not entirely broken, and consequently an Anglican may participate in the sacraments of the Orthodox Church without being asked to abjure his religious beliefs. "As regards myself," he wrote to Count Protasov, the Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod, on August 27, 1840, "I do not come from any heresy or schism seeking to be reconciled to the Church of God which is in Russia: but being a Catholic Orthodox Christian, as I trust, and coming from a Catholic and Orthodox and Apostolic Church, I seek from the legitimate and canonical Bishops of the country, in whatever country I may be, and from each one of them in his own diocese, the common right of communion."⁵

Thus the mission of Palmer in Russia consisted in asking for and obtaining the recognition of the Anglican claims to inter-communion with the Orthodox Churches, as a preliminary step to the recognition by them of the validity of Anglican Orders. For, suppose the Anglicans were allowed to receive the orthodox sacraments without repudiating their own communion, they would have logically inferred that their hierarchy and sacraments were upon a par with those of Eastern Christianity.

In August, 1840, Palmer reached Petrograd with a hopeful heart and a strong desire to carry out his audacious plans. Before leaving England, he had provided himself with a commendatory letter from Dr. Martin Joseph Routh, president of St. Mary Magdalene College. By it the Holy Governing Synod was requested to allow Palmer to receive the Holy Communion in the Orthodox Churches.

In Russia, William Palmer was not slow to feel that the task

³ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

which he had set himself was most difficult. Russian prelates and prominent laymen received him with ceremonious politeness, invited him to aristocratic dinners, spoke of England in terms of deeply felt admiration, held with him very interesting talks, but, at the same time, they smiled and sneered at his **ingenuous** requests and **once and again** they ventured unpleasant remarks on the peculiar condition of the Church of England and the unreasonableness of her claims.

Metropolitan Philarete could not conceal his great astonishment at hearing from him that the Western Church was divided into two branches, the Continental and the British, the latter claiming to be a part of the whole Church of Christ, which is composed of three Branches grown on the one tree at different times. He declared that he was not able to understand such a theory, unheard of in the Orthodox Church throughout the long centuries of her life. Palmer, however, did not give up his opinions, and when driven to his last intrenchments by the logical objections of Russian divines, he **frankly confessed that the strongest** of his arguments was his consciousness of being a member of the true Church of Christ.

But he was not at the end of his rosy illusions. Russian Churchmen did not hesitate to blurt out unusual declarations in respect to the inconsistent position of the Anglican Church and the jurisdictional rights of the Roman See over her. Count Muraviev, who in 1840 took the helm of the Holy Governing Synod, harshly criticized the **schism of the Church of England** from the Roman obedience. "We know you," he said to Palmer, "only as heretics. You separated from the Latin Church three hundred years ago, as the Latins had before that fallen away from the Greeks. We think even the Latin Church heretical; but you are an apostasy from apostasy—a progression from bad to worse; you were part of the Pope's patriarchate, and you rebelled against him.⁶ We know you only through the Latin Church, through the Pope. If we had any communication with your Church, it must be through the Pope and the Church of Rome, nor can we recognize you otherwise. Reconcile yourself to your own patriarch first, and then come and talk to us, if you think you have anything to say to us.⁷ We do not say that the Latins are in all respects heretics—only in some points, as on the Procession and in giving only half the Sacrament of Holy Communion to the laity. And if we were to admit any others to be part of the true Church besides ourselves, it would certainly be rather the Roman Church than yours; for there is

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

comparatively but a slight difference between us and them.⁸ The Pope had acquired a right of jurisdiction over the Church of England. The Latin Church had taken the Gothic form and constitution, and your separation was made *by secular violence*. If I had been an Englishman then, I should have adhered to the Pope."⁹

The monks of the Lavra of St. Alexander Newsky said to him that Rome may recover its full rights and place in the universal Church, the primacy of the Roman See included, by merely correcting its faults and submitting itself again to the Ecumenical canons, against which it has rebelled (*sic*).¹⁰ Palmer could not get over his surprise. He had thought he would find in Russia **zealous orthodox, ill-affected towards Rome and her innovations** and ready to give their support to the opposers of her ambitious claims. On the contrary, Russian Churchmen pleaded before him the cause of Rome, exhorted him to return to her allegiance in order that his proposals of **reunion with the Eastern Churches** might be taken into consideration. He had no words to express his astonishment and his bitter disappointment.

The second visit to Russia of Palmer took place in 1841. This time he extended his ingenuity to the point of submitting to Metropolitan Philarete a copy of the *Thirty-nine Articles* of the Church of England, and of joining to them a quite orthodox commentary of their quite Protestant statements. Philarete was horrified at the reading of what he believed to be the standard of faith of the Anglican communion. In his eyes, Palmer became the excellent defender of a bad cause. He said to him that he could not understand at all the position of the Anglican Communion which boasts of being a part of the true Catholic Church, in spite of the Lutheranism and Calvinism of her teaching. Palmer answered him that the monster of Protestantism was dead in his own Church, for the Hierarchy or the so-called High-Church party was imbued with a spirit of extreme conservatism. His explanations, however, did not convince anybody. Count Muraviev declared to him that the union of the Russian Church with a National Church, which leaves such latitude for denying or asserting all kinds of opinions, was impossible: "One of you sees a thing in one light, another in another. No two of you agree. There are your *Thirty-nine Articles*, to which any one may subscribe and be a thorough-going Protestant."¹¹ After the reading of the *Thirty-nine Articles*, Arch-

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 380-381.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 365.

priest Fortunatov said to him: "As we think the Latin Church agrees almost entirely with us, we have never been disposed to recognize any other churches or societies in the West as competing with it, but we recognize only the Latin."¹²

These declarations of individual prelates or divines clearly foreboded the complete failure of the mission of Palmer in Russia. In fact, when he formally asked the Russian Church to recognize the validity of Anglican Orders, and to admit him to the communion of the orthodox church without any formal abjuration of his own communion, he was answered that his wishes could not be satisfied unless he acknowledged the Thirty-nine Articles to be in their plain literal sense and spirit a full and perfect expression of the faith of the Churches of England and Scotland and to contain forty-four heresies: unless he renounced and anathematized the said heresies, the Thirty-nine Articles as **containing them** and the Churches of England and Scotland as implicated in them; and further admitted the Greek Church to be the Oecumenical Church, and unless he were received into the same as a proselyte. Metropolitan Philarete made known to him that he who would receive the Communion **from an orthodox Bishop, must submit absolutely and without restriction to all the doctrines, discipline and ritual of the Orthodox Eastern Church.**¹³

The disappointment of the Anglican pioneer of Christian reunion could not have been greater. By denying the catholicity of the Anglican Church, by asserting the heretical foundations of her standards of faith, by imposing reordination upon Anglican priests desirous of embracing the Orthodox Faith, the Russian Church implicitly **affirmed the invalidity of Anglican Orders.**

But Palmer did not consider himself beaten. He left Russia accompanied by the blessings of Metropolitan Philarete, who told him that he was very glad to have seen him in Russia, and that good had sprung from the seed sown by him. After his return to England, he carried on a correspondence with Alexis Stepanovich Khomiakov (1804-1860), the leader of the Slavophile movement, and an **original theologian**, whom his admirers, as George Samarin, decorate with the gorgeous title of *Father of the Church*. Khomiakov was admirably equipped with theological erudition and versed as none other in the orthodox teaching of the Church. Therefore he had no difficulty in dismantling the theological view of Palmer that particular churches can fall into partial errors without ceasing to possess catholicity. "Such a theory," declared Khomiakov, "is inadmissible. The continual presence of the Holy

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 317.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 415, 396.

Ghost is a promise given to us by Truth Itself: and if this promise is believed, the light of pure doctrine must burn and shine brightly, through all ages, seeking our eyes, even when unsought for. If it is once bedimmed, it is obscured forever, and the Church must become a mere word without a meaning in it, or must be considered, as many German Protestants indeed do consider it, a society of good men differing in all their opinions, but earnestly seeking for Truth with a total certainty that it has not yet been found, and with no hope at all ever to find it."¹⁴

The Church, he truly stated to Palmer, cannot be a harmony of discords: it cannot be a numerical sum of Orthodox, Latins and Protestants. It is nothing if it is not a perfect inward harmony of creed and outward harmony of expression, notwithstanding local differences in the rite. The question is not whether Latins and Protestants have erred so fatally as to deprive individuals of salvation, which seems to be often the subject of debate—surely a narrow and unworthy one, inasmuch as it throws a suspicion upon the mercy of the Almighty. The question is whether they have the truth and whether they have retained the ecclesiastical tradition unimpaired. If they have not, where is the possibility of unity?¹⁵

According to Khomiakov all sacraments are effected only in the bosom of the true Church, and the ceremony of reconciliation which is performed for the admission of heretics into the orthodox church renovates them, or completes them, giving a full and orthodox meaning to an insufficient or heterodox rite.¹⁶ Khomiakov avoided pronouncing a sentence of nullity upon Anglican Orders, but the general trend of his theological thought militates against the validity of the Sacraments conferred by non-orthodox churches.

In despair not without cause, Palmer turned his eyes towards the Greek Church. In order to win over the sympathies of Greek divines he wrote a book: "A Harmony of Anglican Doctrine with the Doctrine of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East, which may serve as an appendix to the volume entitled the doctrine

¹⁴ W. J. Birkbeck, "Russia and the English Church During the Last Fifty Years," Vol. I, containing a correspondence between Mr. William Palmer, Fellow of Magdalene College, Oxford, and M. Khomiakoff, in the years 1844-1854, London, 1895, pp. 39-40. In Russian, the correspondence between Palmer and Khomiakov has been inserted in the second volume of the complete works of Khomiakov, "Polnoe sobranie sochinenii Aleksiei Stepanovicha Khomiakova," ed. IV., t. II., Moscow, 1900, pp. 315-400. A thoroughly elaborated analysis of the same correspondence is contained in the monumental work of Basile Zavitnevich, "Aleksiei Stepanovich Khomiakov," 1902, t. I., 2, pp. 1052-1250. See also "Russkii Arkhiv," 1894, 3, pp. 78-98.

¹⁵ Birkbeck, p. 69.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 62.

of the Russian Church" (Aberdeen, 1846). His work was translated into modern Greek and published at Athens in 1851. The previous year, being in Constantinople, he sent a declaration to the Greek Patriarch, declaring he was ready to abjure all the acknowledged heresies of the Anglican Church for the sake of receiving the orthodox communion.¹⁷ But he met with a new and more painful awakening. Greek prelates stated that not only the priesthood of the Church of England was invalid, but that even the Sacrament of Baptism administered by Anglicans as well as by Latins was to be considered as null and void of sacramental effects. Therefore Palmer was asked to receive a second baptism for his admission into the Orthodox Church.¹⁸ He was incensed at the pretension of the Greek hierarchy, and gave vent to his indignation in two elaborate volumes, the titles of which proclaim the flagrant contradiction between the Russian Orthodox Church, which acknowledges the validity of the Latin baptism, and the Greek Orthodox Church, which anathematizes the unbaptized Latins.¹⁹

Meanwhile the ideas of Palmer had taken another direction. The one Catholic Church which exhibits the characters of the true Church of Christ and at the same time is constantly endeavoring to realize united Christianity on earth, this *one* Church manifested herself to him as embodied in the Roman Church. He went to Rome, had several conferences with Father Passaglia, the learned theologian of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, cleared his mind of all his doubts about Catholic doctrine, and on February 28, 1855, he embraced the Catholic faith by the simple act of abjuration, his baptism having been acknowledged as valid by the Roman Curia. His death took place in the Eternal City on April 5, 1879.²⁰

¹⁷ Athens, 1850. The English translation of the document is inserted in the valuable work of Palmer: "Dissertations on Subjects Relating to the Orthodox or Eastern Catholic Communion," London, 1853.

¹⁸ It is noteworthy that the necessity of rebaptizing Western Christians has been recently asserted by Antoni Krapovitzky, Russian Archbishop of Kharkov, in a series of pamphlets addressed to Mr. Robert H. Gardiner, secretary of the World Conference on Faith and Order. Later on we shall have the opportunity of pointing out the main results of the polemic, or rather irenic, contest between Russian theologians and the leaders of the World Conference.

¹⁹ Athens, I., 1852; II., 1854.

²⁰ "Mysli Anglichan o pravoslavnoi tserkvi i ob otnochenii k nei tserkvi anglikanskoi" ("The Views of Anglican on the Orthodox Church and Her Relations to the Anglican Church"). "Dukhovnaia besieda," 1859, t. VII., pp. 262-265; Paul Evthimovich, "Obraztsov, O popytkakh k soedineniu anglikanskoi episkopalnoi tserkvi s pravoslavnoi" ("The attempts at a reunion of the Anglican Episcopal Church with the Orthodox Church"), "Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie," Moscow, 1866, t. XIX., pp. 41-70; 169-201; 245-270; Basil Joannovich Fortunatov, Vospominanie o W. Palmer (Recollections of William Palmer), Dukhovnaia besieda, 1867, t. I., pp. 206-16; 223-42; 257-64; II., 297-305; 323-28; 347-53; 384-89; 422-28.

The conversion of Palmer to Catholicism exceedingly grieved Khomiakov, who lost his sympathies for the Anglican Church. No wonder, then, if two years before his death he poured fiery invectives upon his old friends: "In so far as she is Roman or Dissenting, England sails in the wake of continental thought. But looked upon as Anglican, she is devoid of solid standing ground. Anglicanism is indeed a misconstructured scaffolding in the Reformed world, like Gallicanism in that of Rome. Gallicanism died. Anglicanism, in turn, is doomed to an approaching death. It is a fortuitous congeries of conventional principles which do not agree with each other by virtue of a common bond: it is a small sandy neck beaten by the powerful waves of two rival oceans, and which is ceaselessly crumbling on both its sides of Romanism and Dissent. By the mouth of its most distinguished representatives, Anglicanism has thrown overboard the characteristic beliefs of the Roman schism. At the same time it is unable to give any reason which could restrain it from becoming orthodox. It is within the pale of the Church by its principles, but outside of it by its historic provincialism, a provincialism which puts upon it a Protestant mask, and deprives it of every tradition and of every logical basis. Yet it cannot throw off that mask owing partly to the national pride of Englishmen, and partly to the acquiescence in accomplished facts, which characterizes the English mind. Anglicanism is at once the purest and the most illogical of all the Western communions. It is at once in the very heart of the Church by the religious element of its vitality, while it acts as a rust, corroding even the notion of the Church. It is neither a tradition nor a doctrine, but a mere national establishment, an edifice built up by the hands of men. Sentence has been already passed upon it. Its case is a desperate one, and soon it will gasp its last breath."²¹

The adventures of Palmer in Russia and in the West stirred up Russian divines to a more accurate study of the Anglican communion. Many pamphlets and papers were published with a view to acquaint Russian readers with the fundamental doctrines of the Church of England. The greater part of that literary production did not conceal a feeling of distrust with regard to Anglican religious beliefs. Optimists, however, were not wanting. For instance, in the *Strannik (The Wanderer)*, an ecclesiastical magazine of Petrograd, Gregory Povessky declared in 1860 that the An-

²¹ "L'Eglise Latine et le Protestantisme," Lausanne, 1872, pp. 257-258. The same idea is to be found in a letter to Palmer dated in 1850: "The position of Anglicanism is completely defined. It is a narrow ledge of dubious terra firma, beaten by the waves of Romanism and Protestantism, and crumbling on both sides into the mighty waters. The position cannot be maintained, but where is the egress?" Birkbeck, p. 102.

glican Church approached nearer than the other Western communions to the Orthodox Church and better preserved the teaching of primitive Christianity.²²

²² Polievsky Gregory, "Vzgliad na sovremennoe religioznoe dvizhenie v anglikanskoj tserkvi" (A view on the present religious movement within the Anglican Church), Strannik, 1860, t. II., pp. 235-274; IV., 393-426 (second section). Among the studies devoted by Russian theologians to the Anglican Church between 1859-1864 we quote the following: "Mysl' Anglikan o pravoslavnoi tserkvi i ob otnoshenii k nei tserkvi anglikanskoj" ("Anglican views on the Orthodox Church and on her relations to the Orthodox Church"), "Dukhovnaia besieda," Petrograd, 1859, pp. 262-265; D. B., "Ocherk istorii anglikanskoj tserkvi" ("A Sketch of the History of the Church of England"), Ibid., 1860, XI., pp. 214-237; 284-296; 350-364; Popov Eugene, "Ivanovich, Ustroistvo i byt anglikanskoj tserkvi" ("The Constitution and Life of the Anglican Church"), "Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie," 1860, t. II., pp. 415-428; 517-528; III., 149-160; "Anglikanskaja tserkov'" ("The Anglican Church"), "Pravoslavnoe Sobesiednik," Kazan, 1860, t. II., pp. 154-175; 413-452; Mikhaikovskij Basil, "Ob Anglikanskoj tserkvi" ("The Anglican Church"), "Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie," Moscow, 1860, t. II., pp. 308-331; Popov E. J., "O partiiakh na kotoryia razdeliaetsia v nastoiashchee vremia anglikanskaja tserkov'" ("The Factions into which the Contemporary Anglican Church is divided"), "Khristianskoe Chtenie," Petrograd, 1861, t. I., p. 3-21; 437-50; "Otnoshenie Anglikanskoj tserkvi k rimskoj i pravoslavnoj" ("The relations of the Anglican Church to the Roman and Orthodox Churches"), "Pravoslavny Sobesiednik," Kazan, 1861, t. I., pp. 48-76; Mikhailovich Basil, "Bogosluzenie tserkvi Anglikanskoj" ("The liturgy of the Anglican Church"), "Dukhovnaia Besieda," Petrograd, 1861, t. XIV., pp. 354-364; 417-428; 449-465; "Dvizenie v Anglikanskoj episkopalnoj tserkvi k snocheniu s tserkoviu russkoju" ("The movement within the Anglican Episcopal Church towards the establishment of relations with the Russian Church"), "Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie, 1863, t. X. pp. 194-202; "Vasiliev Ivan, Mysli po povodu vyskazannago anglikanskoju tserkoviu zhelania voiti v blizkoe snochenie s vostochnoiu katolicheskoju tserkoviu" ("Thoughts on the desires expressed by the Anglican Church to enter into relation with the Orthodox Catholic Church"), "Voskresnoe Chtenie," Moscow, 1863, pp. 340-44; 361-68; 386-91; Guettée Vladimir, "Lettres sur les divergences qui existent entre l'Eglise d'Orient et celle d'Angleterre, Union Chrétienne, Paris, 1863, t. V., pp. 29-32; 44-46; 51-54; "Sovremennoe sostianie Anglikanskoj tserkvi" ("The present status of the Church of England"), "Dukhovnyi Vestnik," Moscow, 1863, t. V., pp. 285-310; Mikhailovskij Basil, "Anglikanskaja tserkov' i eia otnoshenie k pravoslavliu" ("The Anglican Church and her relations to the Orthodox"), Petrograd, 1864; Osinin Ivan Terentievich, "O tserkovnom sostoianii Anglii" ("The religious conditions of England"), "Khristianskoe Chtenie," Petrograd, 1864, t. II., p. 451; III., 3, 173; Popov E. J. "Natchatki dvizhenia v anglikanskoj tserkvi k soedineniu s vostochnoiu" ("The origins of the movement of the Anglican Church towards a union with the Orthodox"), "Pribavleniia" ("Supplements to the works of the Fathers of the Church translated into Russian"), Moscow, 1864, t. XXIII., pp. 483-502; Moscow, 1865; "Sviet pravoslavliia: po povodu predlozhenia pastora anglikanskoj tserkvi o soedinenii tserkvei" ("Lux ex oriente: the proposal of the reunion of Churches made by Pastor Young, of the Anglican Church"), "Pravoslavny Sobesiednik," 1864, t. III., pp. 3-8; "Dukhovnyi Vestnik," 1864, IX., 451-53; Osinin, "Neskolko slov o sovremennykh stremleniiakh anglo-amerikanskoj tserkvi k sblijeniu s pravoslavnoi" ("A few words about the modern tendencies of the Anglo-American Church for an ap-

Anglicans in turn gave a stronger impulse to the attempts at an official recognition of their hierarchy by the Eastern Churches. This purpose lies at the bottom of the "*Association for Promoting the Unity of Christianity*," founded in London in 1857 and in which many Catholics joined. The same purpose was made evident in the *Eastern Church Association*, established in 1863 with a view to acquaint Eastern Christians with the doctrines and principles of the Anglican communion; and to help Eastern Orthodox Bishops in the spiritual training of their flocks.²³ A few Orthodox prelates, as Archimandrite Constantine Stratulis and the Metropolitan of

proach towards Orthodoxy"), "Khristianskoe Chtenie," 1865, t. I., pp. 188-197; Ibid., "Obzor XXXIX., chlenov anglikanskaro vieroispovedaniia" ("Examination of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Anglican Communion"), Ibid., 1866, t. I., pp. 571-603; Ibid., "Novoe zaiavlenie v polzu sblizheniia angliiskoi tserkvi s pravoslavnoi" ("A new declaration in favor of approach of the Anglican Church"), Ibid., 1867, t. I., pp. 673-688; Popov E. J., "Popytki v anglikanskoi tserkvi k soedineniu s pravoslavnoi v XVIII. stolietii" ("Attempts of the Anglican Church to unite herself with the Orthodox in the eighteenth century"), Ibid., 1865, t. II., pp. 259-79; 384-407; Troitzky Ivan Egorovich, "Soedinenno-Amerikanskie Chtaty v religiozno-tserkovnom otnoshenii" ("The United States of America from a religious and ecclesiastical point of view"), Ibid., 1865, t. I., pp. 543-80; 11, 3, 189; Nechaev Basil, "Po povodu pribytiia v Rossiiu sievero-amerikanskayo posolstva" ("The coming into Russia of an American deputation"), "Duchepoleznoe Chtenie," Moscow, 1866, t. III., 9, pp. 80-88; "Po voprosu o soedinenii anglikanskoi tserkvi s vostochnoi pravoslavnoi" ("The question of the union of the Anglican Church with the Eastern Orthodox Church"), "Khristianskoe Chtenie," 1866, t. II., pp. 348-363; Obratsov Paul Euthymovich, "O popytkakh k soedineniu anglikanskoi episkopalnoi tserkvi s pravoslavnoi" ("The attempt at a union between the Anglican Episcopal and the Orthodox Churches"), "Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie," Moscow, 1866, XIX., pp. 41-70; 169-201; 245-270; Matvieesky Paul Aleksieevich, "Traktarianskoe v anglikanskoi tserkvi v 1833-62 godakh" ("The Tractarian movement in the Church of England during the years 1833-62"), "Strannik," Petrograd, 1866, t. II., pp. 59-98; "Zamieshaniiia o predpolagaemom soedinenii protestantskikh episkopalnykh tserkvi s pravoslavnoi katolicheskoi tserkviu" ("Some remarks upon the plans of union of the Protestant Episcopal Churches with the Orthodox Catholic Church"), "Dukhovnaia besieda," 1868, t. II., pp. 49-113; Vasiliev J., "Polezdka v Angliu dlia sobesiedovaniia o soednenii anglikanskoi tserkvi s pravoslavnoi" ("A visit to England for a meeting concerning the union of the Anglican Church with the Orthodox"), "Chtenia" of the Society of Russian History and Antiquities, Moscow, 1866, I., pp. 142-159; Filaret, "Metrop. M. v ego zabotakh o vseobshchem tserkovnom edinenii" ("Philarete, Metropolitan of Moscow, and his cares for the union of the whole Church"), "Voskresnoe Chtenie," Moscow, 1868, t. XXXII., pp. 333-341; Lopukhin Alexander Pavlovich, "Snocheniia amerikanskoi episkopalnoi tserkvi s pravoslavnym vostokom po voprosu o soedinenii tserkvi" ("The relations between the American Episcopal Church and the Orthodox East as concerns the union of Churches"), Petrograd, 1883; Sokolov B., "Anglikanskii popytki k sblizheniiu s pravoslavnoi greko-russkoi tserkviu" ("Anglican attempts at an approach to the Orthodox Greco-Russian Church"), "Strannik," Petrograd, 1901, t. I., pp. 826-852.

²³ Hore, p. 673.

Serbia, were enlisted as members of the Standing Committee of the Association. At the same time the movement towards an understanding with the Eastern Churches expanded in the United States under the auspices of the American Episcopal Church. The General Convention of this Church held in New York in 1862 appointed a **Russo-Greek Committee** to consider the expediency of opening communion with the Russo-Greek Church and to promote intercommunion between it and the Anglican Church. The following year at the first meeting of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury of the Church of England and Ireland, a petition was presented to the Upper House of Convocation by many members of the Lower, who asked the Bishops to endeavor to bring about such intercommunion. A committee was appointed to communicate touching that matter with the American Russo-Greek Committee of the United States. The same year Samuel B. Ruggles, an eminent member of the General Convention, who had been commissioned by the Government of the United States as its representative to the International Statistical Congress of Berlin, took advantage of his mission to visit Russia, where he had some interviews with the leading members of the Russian Church, especially with Philarete, Metropolitan of Moscow. He laid stress upon the fact that the religious sympathies between Russia and the United States would be strengthened by the mutual interchange on the part of the two Churches of the religious offices common to both, and especially the Christian duties of visiting the sick and burying the dead.²⁴

In 1864 a clergyman of Trinity Church, in New York, John Freeman Young, secretary of the Russo-Greek Committee, and in 1867 Bishop of Florida, visited England, where he conferred with the Committee of Convocation, and afterwards went to Russia. The Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod, Metropolitan Philarete, and his vicars, Leonidas and Sabas, received him with the utmost courtesy. He presented to them commendatory letters from certain American Bishops. The letter of Samuel Allen McCoskry, Bishop of Michigan, contained the following passage: "*Ex animo quidem cupimus arctioribus unitatis nexibus cum magna ista unius Ecclesiae catholicae et Apostolicae parte coniungi. Tempus vero jam adest, quam levicula omnia quae Ecclesiam dividunt aut negligenda sunt, aut deponenda, et unitas christianorum per orbem terrarum stabi-*

²⁴ "Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," assembled in a General Convention, held in St. Andrew's Church, in the city of Philadelphia, from October 4 to October 24 inclusive, in the year of Our Lord, 1865; Boston, 1865, p. 331.

lienda.²⁵ In order to secure to the plenipotentiary of the American Episcopal Church the benevolence of the Greek hierarchy, Bishop McCoskry launched a dart against the Roman Church as the hater and oppressor of Hellenism in the Eastern countries.

What results followed the mission of Young in Russia? Apparently Russian prelates were pleased with his proposals, and above all with the suggestion of the building of an Orthodox Church at San Francisco. Philarete of Moscow abounded in kind and warm expressions towards the Bishops of the American Episcopal Church, whose greetings moved him and whose letters gave him great pleasure. He charged Rev. Young to bear his kiss of peace to the whole venerable hierarchy of the American Church, and to assure them of his warmest sympathy and love, of his prayers and hopes that they may soon be one with the Russian episcopate, as they are already one in heart in Christ Jesus.

Encouraged by these kind words, Young addressed a memorandum to Isidor, Metropolitan of Petrograd. By that document he strove at first to certify that the Anglican communion was not rowing in the same boat with Protestantism: "Standing alone amidst the numerous Protestant communions by which she is surrounded, because of her tenacious adherence to the apostolic succession of her priesthood, her Catholic liturgy, creeds, tradition and ceremonies, the great Anglican communion, of which the American Church is a considerable part, ever since her release from the thralldom of the Papacy, has regarded with interest and lively sympathy the venerable Orthodox Church of the East."²⁶ Following in the footsteps of Palmer, he claimed the possibility of an harmonious understanding between the American and the Orthodox Churches without the surrender of fundamental principles on either side.

The memorandum revealed the true object of the mission of Young to Russia, that is "to make known to the Orthodox hierarchy the well-established claims of the Anglican Church to recognition as an intergral portion of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, having ultimately in view (should it appear feasible and desirable when we come to know each other better) such mutual recognition of Orders and Sacraments as will allow members of the Anglican communion to avail themselves of the offices of the Eastern Church, with the consent of its Bishops and clergy, without renouncing the Communion of their own Church, and as will permit members of the Eastern Church with like consent, as occasion shall serve, to avail themselves of the ministrations of the

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

Anglo-American Church, without forfeiting thereby the privilege of church membership in their own communion."²⁷

The answers of the Russian prelates to the proposals of Young were animated by a **spirit of deceitful condescension**. According to a Russian Bishop, an understanding between the two Churches might have been had at once on most points by the Hierarchy of the two communions. But with the masses on both sides it would have been more difficult, especially in Russia. "Time will be required," he said, "for the diffusion of information, the softening down of prejudices and the conciliation of mutual regard."²⁸ Another Bishop spoke to him as follows: "The feelings which prompted the movement of the American Church towards the Russian could not but meet with warm sympathy on the part of the Russian Church, which is always ready to negotiate with those who desire to stand on the basis of primitive truth and who admit the apostolic claims and dignity of the Russian Church. Besides, the cordial political harmony which has always existed between Russia and America, and the more intimate social relations between the Churches, strengthen those ties which bind heart to heart in the fellowship and love of our Saviour."

Yet the profuseness of these flowery compliments did not forward the establishment of intercommunion between the two Churches. The lips of Russian prelates **let fall no words** which would have meant a surrender of the traditional positions of the Orthodox Churches. In her official documents the Russian Church stands firmly as a preserver of the old discipline, as an opposer of every kind of compromise with the *heretics* of the West.

In spite of his honeyed words and promises, Philarete frankly declared that he disclaimed the validity of Anglican Orders. As is well known, Philarete Drozdov, Metropolitan of Moscow (1782-1867) is praised by Russians as an enlightener of the orthodox church, as a man of purest and holiest life, as the greatest theologian of his century. His "Solutions" of canonical or theological questions, gathered up and published in many volumes, enjoy in Russia the same authority which in our Catholic Church is granted to the decrees of the Roman Congregations. His "Christian Catechism of the Eastern Greco-Russian Orthodox Church," published in 1823, although tainted with Protestant teachings and forbidden at first by the Holy Governing Synod, became later one of the standards of faith or symbolical books of the Russian Orthodox Church.²⁹ No

²⁷ Ibid., p. 336.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 337.

²⁹ A. Palmieri, "La Chiesa russa," Florence, 1908, p. 633; Ibid., "Theologia dogmatica orthodoxa Ecclesiae graeco-russicae," Florence, 1911, t. I. pp. 644-649.

wonder then if Young earnestly desired to win him over to the cause for which he pleaded.

Philarete requested the American clergymen to give him an answer to the following questions: (1) Are not the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England a doctrinal obstacle to an understanding between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches? (2) Does the Church of England admit the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father alone? (3) Are there no doubts about the validity of Anglican Orders? (4) Does the Church of England acknowledge the necessity of Christian **tradition for the right interpretation of Holy Scripture**? (5) Is not the sacramental system of the **Anglican theology** impaired by Protestant novelties? Young tried to dissipate the suspicions of Philarete with regard to the Anglican faith. A learned helper came to his assistance, namely, William Stubbs (1825-1901), at that time Lambeth librarian, and afterwards Bishop successively of Chester and Oxford. Bishop Stubbs sent a letter to Philarete, in which he explained the controverted points between the Anglican and Russian Churches and the reasons militating in favor of the validity of his own hierarchy. Philarete read attentively the **plea of the Anglican scholar**, but he did not give up his adverse opinion as to the validity of the Anglican priesthood. He believed himself to be bound to disclose his doubts of Anglican claims, and published his remarks on the letter of Stubbs in a widely circulated periodical of Moscow, *Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie* (*the Orthodox Review*), which for long years was highly praised as the leading organ of Russian theological thought.

According to Philarete, the study of the documents brought forward by Anglican divines leaves it greatly doubtful whether the separation of the Church of England from the Roman extinguished the living power of the apostolic consecration and its inner influence, although the outward rite was kept on. If we admit, as history teaches, that Crammer and Barlow denied to the episcopate the spiritual grace of **conferring the priesthood** and looked upon ordination as an act not necessary for the performance of pastoral duties, there is ground to infer that the apostolic succession was broken in the Church of England. After a thorough analysis and refutation of the letter of William Stubbs, Metropolitan Philarete closed his paper in the following terms: "What judgment must a true son of the Orthodox Church form upon the uninterrupted preservation of the Apostolic Succession of Orders in the Church of England? Must he not, strictly speaking, answer the question in the negative? Even in case he wishes to soften the severity of his judgment for the sake of fostering his aspirations towards the reunion of Christianity, will he ever be able to settle

the long-debated controversy in a sense favorable to Anglican claims? Will he not constantly waver between a negative and an affirmative solution in a relentless doubt? And if the uncertainty concerning the validity of Anglican Orders cannot be put aside, will the Anglican Bishops find any way to enter into communion with the Orthodox Church? When there is no possible way to prove that a certain one has been validly baptized, the disciplinary laws of the Church enjoin that such a man shall be considered as unbaptized, and that the ceremony of baptism shall be repeated upon him. Similarly, when it may be doubted whether a Bishop was validly consecrated, the consecration of that Bishop should be treated as if it were null, and the Bishop should submit himself to a conditional consecration. It is needless to say that Anglican Bishops would hardly agree with our statement. Therefore, we have to rest upon God, Who will open for us an easier way to the longed for communion and union of the Churches."³⁰

As might be expected, the pronouncement of Philarete caused a great stir among theologians, both Russian and Anglican, and its influence never ceased its work in the ranks of the conservative wing of the Russian Church. Anglican theologians felt the weight of the blow inflicted upon them by the *Enlightener* of the Russian Church, and strove to avert it by rumoring that Philarete had not carefully investigated the historical and liturgical facts asserted by Anglican divines to establish the episcopal legitimacy of their own hierarchy.

In the Old Catholic Union Conferences held at Bonn from September 14 to 16, 1874, under the presidency of Dr. von Döllinger, the Anglican canon Henry Parry Liddon (1825-1901) said that Metropolitan Philarete, a year before his death, confessed himself to have drawn up his declaration of the invalidity of Anglican Orders without a sufficient knowledge of the history of the Anglican Church, and that it was based solely on the ground of Latin prejudices.³¹

However true may be this tardy explanation, it is beyond all doubt that Metropolitan Philarete never surrendered his opinion. Thus, the first attempts of Anglican divines to win over to their cause the Russian hierarchy met with complete failure. An Anglican priest, Charles F. Hoffman, in his preface to an Anglican edition of the Bull "*Apostolicae Curae*" declared that efforts for unity, in the main, must be outside of Rome, and the East and the

³⁰ "Nepreryvnost episkopskago rukopolozheniia v angliskoi tserkvi" ("The non-interruption of the episcopal consecration in the Anglican Church"), "*Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie*," 1866, t. XIX., pp. 85-94.

³¹ H. Reusch, "Bericht über die am 14, 15 und 16 September zu Bonn gehaltenen Unions-Conferenzen im Auftrage des Vorsitzenden Dr. von Döllinger," Bonn, 1874, p. 37.

West must join hands to bring Rome to her knees. Our researches, however, make it plain that a brotherly joining of hands of two national Churches, the one isolated from continental Catholicism, the other cut off from Western Christianity, did not take place in their earliest meeting, and perhaps their future attempts to formulate a treaty of alliance, as will be shown, will meet the same fate. The reason for this is that national particularism chills and kills the buds of the Catholic ideal of the Church of Christ. Unity outside of Rome means for Catholics a unity without a vital bond of union, a fictitious unity which fosters in its heart a solvent of the supernatural compactness of the Body of Christ, to the spreading of the petty dissensions of a most narrow nationalism. And, at the close of this paper, it will perhaps be to the purpose to quote the beautiful saying of William Palmer to a Russian lady concerning the disastrous rôle of nationalism in Christianity: "Nationality in religion has been our ruin; it has made us all but apostatize from the true faith, and we in England are struggling now to crawl out of that pit into which I hope you may never fall deeper than you have fallen already."³²

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³² Palmer, "Notes of a Visit," p. 403.

BLESSED CATHERINE OF RACCONIGI.

WHEN the merchant, Lucchesio of Poggibonzi, in Tuscany, meeting St. Francis casually, as the Poverello of Assisi was wending his way from Florence to Siena, suggested to him the idea of giving a rule of holy living to persons living in the world, whereby they might strive to attain to the higher life, he was sowing a seed which, like the typical grain of mustard seed, was to grow up into a great tree that would expand its branches far and wide. Germinating in the receptive and far-seeing mind of the saint, it produced the Third Order, of which Lucchesio's house was the birthplace and of which he and his good wife, Bona Donna, were the first members, receiving from St. Francis a simple, modest, ashen-gray habit similar to that primitively worn by the Friars Minor, which was an adaptation of the humble home-spun work-a-day garb of the Italian peasantry of the Apennines. Thus, in 1221, originated the oldest of all the Third Orders, simple and spontaneous in its beginning like that of the first Franciscan Order. A great future awaited it. It effected a social and moral revolution, or rather renovation, in mediæval society, to which no historical parallel can be found. Reinforced by the kindred Third Order of St. Dominic, the tertiary development of the Franciscan and Dominican spirit rapidly spread all over Europe. Just as the waters of the Nile, overflowing its banks, fertilizes, while it irrigates, the sun-parched earth, so the spirit of the two great mendicant orders, poured out from the cloisters and diffused through society by means of these channels, cleansed, purified and reinvigorated the family and social life of the middle ages. As one belonged to a family by blood, to a corporation by the office one filled, to the Church by baptism, people wished to belong by self-devotion to one of the two glorious militias that served the Church in charitable and penitential works. "They put on the livery of St. Dominic or St. Francis," says Lacordaire. "They were engrafted on one of those two trunks and nourished by their sap while still preserving their individuality. They frequented their churches, participated in their prayers, cultivated friendly relations with them and followed as close as possible in the track of their virtues. It was no longer thought necessary to fly from the world to imitate the saints; every room might become a cell and every house a Thebaid."¹

A new force had arisen, a new weapon had been forged and added to the Church's armory. "The Third Orders of Dominic and Francis," says a well-known writer, "completed the conquest

¹ "Life of St. Dominic." by Père Lacordaire, O. P.

of the world. They placed the religious habit under the breastplate of warriors and the robes of Kings. They were like streams, carrying the fertility of Paradise to many a dry and barren region, so that the wilderness blossomed like a rose. Something of the barrier between the world and the cloister was broken down, and the degrees of heroic sanctity were placed, as it were, within the grasp of thousands, who else, perhaps, had never risen above the ordinary standard. These Third Orders have given us a crowd of saints, dearer to us, perhaps, and more familiar than any others, in so far as we feel able to claim their close sympathy with ourselves; and the more so that they are a perpetual witness to us, that no path in life is so busy or so beset with temptations but that God's grace may cover it with the very choicest beauty of holiness. As time went on and the circumstances of its first institution had passed away, the militia of Jesus Christ exchanged its name for that of the Order of Penance of St. Dominic, and by degrees assumed more and more of the religious character, particularly after St. Catherine of Siena had by her example given a new shape to the order, in so far as regarded its adoption by her own set, and in her life and that of the numberless saints who have trodden in her steps, we see the final triumph and vindication of what we may venture to call the primary Dominican idea; namely, that the highest walks of contemplation are not incompatible with the exercise of active charity and labor for souls, but that a union of both is possible, which more nearly fulfills our conception of the life of Christ than the separated perfection of either."²

Among those numerous Dominican tertiaries, true heroines of the home, who practised in the domestic interior the virtues of the cloister, attaining to a high degree of heroic sanctity, was the Blessed Catherine Mattei, of Racconigi. A great number of authors, particularly Dominicans, have written about this holy tertiary, but all have derived their information mainly from her life written in elegant Latin by her contemporary and friend, John Francis Pico, Prince of Mirandola. The Church, repeating the expression of an old author, says of her: "Between the Virgin of Racconigi and the Virgin of Siena there is no difference but canonization." She was, in fact, in constant mystical and at times even visible intercourse with the famous daughter of the Sienese dyer, although she does not figure prominently in ecclesiastical history like the latter. Both had this in common, that they were at once types of citizen saints, of secular tertiaries and of heroines of the home.

² "The Life of St. Dominic, with a Sketch of the Dominican Order," by Augusta Theodosia Drane (Mother Francis Raphael, O. S. D.), fourth edition, page 191.

Daughter of Giorgio Mattei, a tool-maker, and Bilia de Ferrari, she was born in June, 1486, at Racconigi, a town of Piedmont, about twenty-three miles from Turin, where her cult has ever since existed. Her house in the centre of the city is still seen and a street bears her name. An old and constant tradition indicates the large wainscotted room in which she was born and wherein she lived **for thirty-eight years. Her mother, unable to nurse her** or pay a nurse, used to send the infant by her little brother to some charitable matron, whom she begged to give her child the natural nutriment. From her earliest years she was made familiar with poverty and suffering. The Duke of Savoy, who at that time was waging against the lord of the soil, the Marquis of Saluzzo, one of those internecine petty wars of which the history of mediæval Italy is so full, having sacked the town, Catherine's parents, in consequence, were reduced to destitution, often wanting the barest necessities of life: but they bore it with patience and fortitude. When she was nine years old and constrained by stress of extreme poverty to work without intermission, unable to allow herself a moment's rest, thinking of her mother's hard, sad lot, she laid her head upon the loom and began to weep, appealing to God to relieve the misery of the home. Immediately, on raising her eyes, she saw before her a boy of ten, having on him only his shirt, who begged an alms. She replied that for love of God she was prepared to give her blood and life, but **that then, truth to tell, she had nothing to give him; nevertheless she would go and search through the house to see if there was a bit of bread left or anything he could eat.** It was Christ, it is said, who appeared to her under that form. He gave her wherewith to relieve their necessities, comforting her, and encouraging her to endure patiently all adversities after His example. One day at the beginning of Lent, she was very afflicted on account of some disturbance that had arisen between her father and mother and fasted on bread and water, weeping so much that her face was bathed in tears. Our Lord, who appeared to her on this occasion in the **semblance of a youth of fourteen, told her, for her consolation, that her mother would have a happy old age and, in the end, be saved.** Then, taking a loaf and breaking and blessing it, He invited her to eat. In remembrance of this she ever after broke the bread with her own hands, instead of using a knife.

She was very charitable. Although poor herself, the daughter of a *fabbro-ferraio* and born at a time when her country was in great distress, being only barely able to provide for her own wants and help the family by working hard at ribbon weaving, still she distributed to the poor all the food and clothing she could, and when powerless to afford them any temporal relief, spiritually min-

istered to them, afflicting herself with fasts, vigils and disciplines on their account and for love of them.

One Saturday, when she was nine years old, as she was returning from the baker's with bread, unable any longer to endure the fast, she was met by St. Catherine of Siena, who appeared to her in the form of a poor little girl of ten, clad in white, who begged relief. Fearing that her mother would scold her if she gave away the bread, so much needed at home, she made an evasive reply and pursued her way. But no sooner had she arrived home than great remorse of conscience seized her and she said to herself: "What little charity, what little compassion reigns in me! How would I like such an answer to be given to me? How do I know but that poor little girl is in greater want than I am?" So saying, she retraced her steps, praying that she might meet the little beggar girl, and, having found her, said: "Forgive me, sister, if I have behaved cruelly towards you. Here is the loaf you asked from me. Another time I will be more courteous and charitable." The young girl took it with a smiling face, and having tasted a bit thanked her and told her that her alms would be most acceptable in the sight of the Divine Majesty. Quite consoled and full of spiritual joy, she parted from her, not knowing, until some years afterwards, when it was made known to her by the saint herself, who the little girl really was.

Similar visitations often put her charity to the test and afforded opportunities for its exercise. Once Our Lord appeared to her in the form of a half-naked poor man, to whom she gave a shirt. On another occasion, in the depth of winter, she met a poor woman, whose arms were bare, to cover which she cut off the sleeves of her own dress, saying to herself: "My God, I was born poor and, for love of you, I wish to live and die in poverty. I would rather be without a garment than without charity." Again, she met a poor little boy who was suffering from cold and hunger and took him home and gave him a warm bath and food. These are acts of benevolence, one will be told, that many good-hearted people frequently perform; but do they spring from a high supernatural motive, such as always actuated the saints? Natural virtues receive natural rewards and sometimes lead to the attainment of higher virtues; but it is the supernatural and heroic which give to the acts of the saints their distinctive *cachet*. The Master, who promised that even a cup of cold water given in the name of a disciple, should not be without its reward, was not slow to signify His approval and acceptance of a charitable deed, done through love of Him who has made the poor His representatives on earth. He appeared to Catherine and presented her with red and white roses, saying: "For

this act of charity, which thou, My spouse, hast performed to this poor one, give thee now these roses and in the next life will give thee a greater reward." Those who lived with her, although it was then winter, related that they were conscious of the most delightful perfume of roses.

All her life, which was very mystical, she was recipient of special graces. Her childhood had but dawned, when it already disclosed foregleams of future sanctity. The Holy Ghost several times descended upon her: at one time in the form of a white dove, at another as a wonderful Light, emitting three rays; then in the form of a luminous cloud or as a globe of fire, from which issued seven tongues, increasing in her soul the fervor of divine charity, zeal for the honor of God and the salvation of souls and infusing an enlarged knowledge of divine things. A certain white light, tinged with red, was visible in her face, so that people marveled, some thinking it was produced by artificial means; but she assured them that she used nothing else than the Most Holy Sacrament of the altar, and that this light came from the Holy Spirit. There was on these occasions imparted to her a clear understanding of the difference between true revelations and visions and those that are false.

On the Pentecost of 1491 she became a spouse of Christ, who appeared to her, accompanied by Our Lady, many saints and angels, including a six-winged seraph, St. Jerome, St. Peter Martyr and St. Catherine of Siena. Her Italian biographer^a relates minutely the vision in which the mystical nuptials were solemnized, and which twenty years afterwards were twice renewed—the wonder of the innocent child, the simple language in which she tremblingly addressed the Mother of God; how our Lord put on her finger a ring, espousing her in faith, hope and charity, bade His Mother take her for her daughter, commanded the seraph and her angel guardian never to abandon her, and assigned to her St. Jerome, St. Peter Martyr and St. Catherine of Siena as her teachers. It was the beginning of a succession of similar marvels, of which her whole life is a record.

The most marvelous event of her life took place on the eve of the feast of St. Dominic, 1512. She had been begging the Lord with tears to give her a clean heart, when, at the hour of Prime, Christ appeared to her along with many saints, and, having blessed

^a Vite de Santi e Beati del Sacro Ordine de Frati Predicatori, cuosi Huomini come Donne, con aggiunta di molte vite che nella prima impressione non erano. Scritte dal R. P. Maestro Serafino Razzi dell'istesso Ordine, e professore di San Marco di Firenze. Con Licenzia de' Signori Superiori. In Firenze, nella Stampa di Bartolomeo Sermartelli. MDLXXXVIII.

her, removed, as it seemed to her, from her breast her heart in which was traced, as it were in silver letters, the words, "*Jesus, spes mea*," and, after changing them into golden letters, restored it to its place.⁴ This is recorded as being subsequently repeated four times, the last taking place in presence of the vicar of the Convent of San Domenico and her confessor, who saw in her face the expression of acute pain and heard her moans, but saw or heard nothing else. She told her confessor that while her heart was in the hands of angels, she suffered such pain that she did not know if the pain of death was greater.

It was at the bidding of Our Lady she became a Dominican tertiary, her reception taking place in a convent of the Friars Preachers at **Racconigi**, the erection of which she predicted long before it was built, naming the friars who would officiate there. When she publicly made her solemn profession many indications of her holiness were given. Before she went to the church she had to endure many threats and assaults from demoniacal assailants, but, on the other hand, was consoled by angels. The Lord of Racconigi, along with the noblest in the land, wished to be present at the ceremony. But most of all was the honor bestowed upon by heaven itself. The most delightful odors perfumed and pervaded the route she traversed; St. Peter Martyr, invisible to others, but visible to her, blessed the habit with which she was clothed; the harmonious canticles of angels were heard by many, while others saw a fiery cloud⁵ hovering over her head.

If she was predestined to be the recipient of special spiritual favors, she was also predestined to tread the rugged road of suffering, that *via dolorosa*, the wearisome way of the Cross. When she was only seven years of age, as she was walking in the cloisters of the Servites and saw a fresco of St. Peter Martyr with sword and palm, a great desire of martyrdom seized her, and, praying that it might be her lot, the saint appeared to her holding a chalice full of blood, which he presented to her, saying: "Take, my daughter, this chalice and taste its precious blood, for in time you will have many tribulations." Fearing that it might be an illusion, she prayed the Lord not to abandon her nor permit her to be deceived. He at once appeared to her in the guise of a boy of ten, with a cross on His shoulder, and said: "Doubt not, My spouse, for he that appeared to thee is My faithful servant, Peter Martyr, whom I have already given thee as father and director. As he

⁴ "Le trasse di petto il cuore tutto livido e terreo eccetto in quella parte, nella quale era scritto a lettere d'argento, *Jesus, Spes mea*, e poi mondatolo, e convertite le lettere d'argento in oro gliele lo restitui." Razzi, op. cit., page 136.

⁵ Una nugola come di fuoco. Razzi, op. cit.

for love of Me and zeal for My faith, has drunk of the bitter chalice of My Passion, so thou, too, through love of Me and zeal for souls, shall endure many adversities." Then, placing the Cross on her left shoulder, He said: "This will seem to thee bitter only in the beginning, but in the end sweet and pleasant, thanks to My love, which makes all things light." On the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross our Lord again appeared to her with two angels preceding Him, carrying a larger cross, which also He placed on her left shoulder, saying: "This, O beloved, is the cross that for the whole of thy life will not be wanting to thee. I give it to thee now, since it is fitting that the Bridegroom should make some present to His bride. It will seem to thee troublesome at first, but in the end the more glorious." In receiving this cross she felt such a pain and burthen, that from that moment her left shoulder was visibly more bent than the other. When, for the third time, she received from the hands of Christ the cross, it was in the form of a staff, given to her with these words: "You will overcome all tribulations and adversities with patience by means of this staff," to which she replied: "My Lord, my hope, solace of my soul and sweet refuge, I have borne and will willingly bear the cross for Thy land and glory, confiding in Thy goodness and help, which I am certain will never fail me." After she had received the three crosses, two shining angels appeared to her on the night of the feast of St. Nicholas, and, on the part of God, presented her with a stole covered all over with crosses, which they placed over her shoulders and arms.

At daybreak one Eastertide morning, as she was meditating on the agony in the garden, which increased in her the longing for martyrdom, Christ appeared and impressed upon her the stigmata. A blood-stained thorn projected, as it were, from the hands, feet and side of our Lord and penetrated her. She was like one dead from excessive pain; on recovering, she begged and obtained that the stigmata should not be visible to every one. She was also impressed with the crown of thorns. Pico and some others affirmed that they had seen and touched it. It extended from the crown of her head to her neck and cut into the bone. She was then in her twenty-fourth year.

In 1519, on the feast of SS. Simon and Jude, as she was praying the Lord to enlighten her enemies and those who persecuted her, so that they might not fall into sin and calling to mind the words of the Psalmist, "*Domine Deus, in te speravi, salvum me fac ex omnibus persequentibus me, et libera me*," the Prophet David appeared to her, accompanying her so sweetly on the lyre that it seemed as if her soul would leave her body, a detail which recalls

a similar incident in the life of St. Francis of Assisi.⁶ Having ceased chanting, David said to her: "Remember, my daughter, that all men in mortal life are, for the most part, sinners, who, however, can more easily do penance in it than in that which is to come; the more willingly endure all the adversities that will befall you, and know that all that you ask of the Lord will be granted to you."

Many saints appeared to her from time to time, whose varying characteristics she minutely described. She often received Communion at the hands of Our Lord, the angels and saints. From St. Michael the Archangel she received the visible impress of a cross on the breast, which remained for a few days. Unable to provide personally for all her needs, she was often the recipient of many gifts from God and the saints. She was once led in spirit to Jerusalem, where she witnessed all the mysteries of the Passion, when Christ gave her two pieces of the wood of the cross, one of which she gave to Count Pico, of Mirandola, and the other to his daughter, wife of the Doge of Genoa, Count di Renda, and, as the Count relates, it wrought the miraculous deliverance of some possessed persons.

An instructive incident, which illustrates how Christ is personified in the suffering members of His mystical Body, is related by her Italian biographer. When she was once in spiritual converse with Our Saviour and was summoned to render some service of charity, but excused herself, she was ordered by Christ to leave Him and go whither she was wanted; but, submitting that it was not fitting for the creature to leave its Creator, Our Lord replied: "Although, my daughter, it may be hard for thee to go, nevertheless, it is pleasing to Me that for love of Me and your neighbor's good, thou shouldst deprive thyself of personal consolations. And let your mind be at ease, for thereby thou dost not leave nor I abandon thee, for I am always with thee." Having received Our Lord's blessing, she went promptly and performed this work of charity through simple obedience.

She was often carried invisibly by her angels⁷ to distant regions to deliver her friends from imminent danger. Once, invisibly, but actually in the body⁸ she traversed a distance of one hundred and

⁶ See *Life of St. Francis* by Rev. Leopold de Chérancé, O. S. F. C. Third edition, page 325.

⁷ Besides the guardian angel who watched over her from her birth, she had also assigned to her a six-winged seraph, the former appearing in white vesture and the latter in red.

⁸ Her Italian biographer says "*nèl vero corpo*." But it must have been in what is called the human essence, as distinct from the physical body.

sixty miles to rebuke a great noble who was the cause of the most cruel wars in Italy and commanded him, in the name of Christ, to desist from fomenting discord and disturbances in Christendom, otherwise the divine wrath would be visited upon him. Disturbed at first by the aspect and language of his visitor, having learnt who she was and for what reason she came, he gave her hope of peace. The chronicler notes that she made the journey, three hundred and twenty miles going and coming, in the space of three or four hours. She appeared in the same way to a famous preacher long antagonistic to her, thinking she was under demoniacal influence. She was accompanied by another Dominican tertiary, and, having complained of his incredulity, said: "Get rid, father, of this sinister impression you have of me, although I do not deserve your good opinion; nevertheless, respect God, who can do with His handmaid what He pleases."

She had the gift common to saints and favored souls of reading conscience. She knew, by divine or infused knowledge, the secrets of hearts and revealed them to many, rebuking them for their hidden vices. The gift of prophecy was also given to her. She predicted many things that subsequently came to pass, such as the death of Pope Julius II., the coming of the French into Italy and the imprisonment of their King.

The Church and the world, particularly in Italy, were sore afflicted in the age in which Catherine of Racconigi lived. It was an age of conflicts—an age when triumphant vice, naked and not ashamed, of deplorable decadence, of unbridled luxury and internecine conflict flaunted with unabashed insolence and sullied with its slimy presence the holiest places and the highest office, vice against which the Dominican Friar Savonarola, with the courage of an apostle and the prescience of a prophet, declaimed from the pulpit; the age when the Medici ruled and reigned in Florence and an Alexander VI. occupied the Pontifical throne. Catherine Mattei was four years old when the prior of San Marco, after preaching in Brescia and Genoa, returned to Florence at the instance and entreaty of Pico of Mirandola. It was in July, 1490, he reached Tuscany, after parting with the mysterious stranger he met on the way at Pianoro, who accompanied him as far as the Porto San Gallo, saying: "Take care to discharge faithfully the mission entrusted to thee by God." To another Dominican another mission was assigned, which had a certain relationship to his. Catherine of Racconigi, years after Savonarola's mission ended in the tragic scene which the fair city on the Arno witnessed in 1498, was leading her hidden life of mystical suffering for the Church in the midst of poverty and toil in an obscure town in Piedmont, while the tide of corruption rose

higher and higher in the south, until it flooded and fouled the very sanctuary of the Holy of Holies.

The moral condition of the Church and the world was revealed to her in symbolical visions. Once, rapt in spirit, she was led into a church, the walls of which were draped in black, and she saw herself similarly vested, whereupon the Blessed Virgin appeared to her and said: "Wonder not, my daughter, to see the church with its sombre veil; for the sins of the world, and particularly of those who should be pastors and spouses, have thus darkened it. Thou art also vested in black through great grief and sadness of soul, seeing that blood and labors of my dear Son, thy beloved spouse, so little prized, and tribulations to come, which God wills to send to His deformed Church, will sadden thee much more." Then she saw two combatants, one in black, of horrible aspect, and the other in white and red, armed with a sword having in its pommel an image of Christ, with which he fought and conquered. The same year there were visioned to her two great armies, one of which had a red and white standard, with the Madonna and Child surmounted by a cross, and the other a black standard, on which was a forbidding face, against which a young man under thirty waged war and obtained a victory, although at the cost of the loss of many on his side. It seemed to her that those who were taken alive in the enemy's ranks were baptized. Similar armed conflicts, likewise ending in the baptism of the conquered, were foreshown to her in later visions.

In 1521, when pestilence ravaged Turin and its vicinity, grieving for her country, she offered herself to God as a victim to appease the divine wrath, praying that He would pardon the people and punish her for their sins, whereupon two angels appeared, carrying a coffined corpse and said: "Thou knowest, Catherine, that God is angered on account of the multitude of wicked men, and if thou hadst not interposed, offering thy body to the scourges, His most just anger would have already fallen upon mortals, but as they have not amended, lo, we bring the pestilence, indicated by this coffin." "Tell the Lord," she replied, "not to be angered against His people, but to punish their sins in my body." Her petition was heard and through her merits the plague ceased.

Her ecstasies were frequent. She was often rapt into heaven and participated, as far as it is possible for a mortal still *in via*, in the beatitude of the saints. She was led to hell and witnessed the tortures of the damned, and into purgatory, where she conversed with the suffering souls, whom she consoled. Once, on the feast of the holy angels, she was again rapt into heaven and saw the glorified state of the blessed, indescribable in human language and

only dimly adumbrated in similitudes. When she emerged from the ecstatic state, a richly adorned palace appeared to her like a squalid abject cabin. On the feast of St. Jerome, as her mind was raised to the contemplation of the celestial spheres, she heard the most **harmonious canticles in Paradise**, and it was shown to her how by her prayers many souls would be saved. One Corpus Christi she was borne by angels into the presence of God and saw, nigh the throne of the **Divine Majesty, a great book sealed with seven seals**, in which, by a special favor, she was permitted to read the names of her spiritual children, for whom she prayed that they might never offend God mortally. Her prayer was answered for many, but not for all; for all were not disposed. It was, however, promised her that at the end they would arise from sin and be saved.

One day as she was reading the Gospel of the marriage feast, she was rapt into heaven and saw the divine nuptials represented and was clothed with a purple garment and crowned, but her crown was not yet complete and perfect. On another occasion she was again rapt in spirit and saw the Most Holy Trinity, and her soul was filled with such a sense of complete contentment by the beatific vision that, like the Apostles on Thabor, she longed for it to last and prayed not to return to the prison and stable of the world, but was given to understand that her crown was not yet finished. She was shown by a symbolical vision how it is the three theological virtues, faith, hope and charity, which obtain for us entrance into heaven, and that without innocence and purity no one can see God.

Praying the Lord out of His great charity to shut the mouth of hell, the answer was given to her that that could not be, for Divine justice must have its place. Urging that the glory of God would be thereby made more resplendent and His immense goodness be praised by a greater multitude, she was told that His glory will be reflected not less in His divine justice than in His mercy. Then she besought the Lord to execute His justice upon her. "Thou couldst not," said Christ, "endure such punishment, nor is it reasonable that thou shouldst do penance for the sin of another." "Wherefore, then," she asked, "hast Thou infused into my soul such an ardent desire of suffering if Thou willest not, my sweetest Jesus, to satisfy it?" "This thy desire," replied Our Lord, "will be to thy rejoicing and to many others on thy account, but not possibly to all, as My Passion has not its effect in all."^a

In 1520 St. Peter and St. Paul appeared to her, one placing on her shoulder the sword of divine justice and the other in her hands the keys of infinite mercy, exhorting her to pray fervently for the

^a "Che ne anco la mia passione ha effeto in tutti." Sic in orig.

Church. Beseeching the Lord to give good pastors to His Church, Christ appeared to her vested in black, holding a blood-stained poniard and displaying great anger towards ungrateful sinners; whereupon she prostrated herself, pleading for pardon and mercy for those who administered the sacrament, for she knew God was chiefly angered against them. And that divine justice might be satisfied, she received in her heart from that poniard a wound which lasted for many years and gave her incredible pain. Such was her love and charity towards God and her neighbor that she took upon her great pains and torments not only for the Church, but also for many private persons.

One day when she was oppressed with great heat, she began to meditate on the pains of purgatory and said within herself: "What wouldst thou do if thou were so tortured in purgatory?" upon which she heard a voice that said: "Thou dost well to think of those pains; but in order that thou mayest better realize their intensity, thou shalt experience for a while that fire." Immediately she felt a spark of fire in her left cheek, which gave her such pain as she had never hitherto endured. Having once offered all her merits for a soul that had just passed out of life, after five days it appeared to her, liberated from purgatory, affirming that the sufferings therein were much greater than was said. Led again in spirit to purgatory, the soul of the mother of a certain Dominican prior begged her to make known to her son his mother's state in the other world. She did so, taking upon her a portion of the punishment meted out to that soul, which, upon its release a few days afterwards, appeared to her accompanied by angels and thanked her for her charity, commending her son to her prayers, Catherine replied that she did not know who could better help him than his mother, who now saw God face to face. It elicited the following response, full of instruction for us: "Nevertheless, not being in a condition to merit and to suffer as thou art, I cannot so efficaciously remember him." From her fifth year she was wont to help the souls of the departed and many obtained their release from purgatory through her prayers. In 1513 Sister Margaret of Biandra, another Dominican, having died, Catherine went to her obsequies and asked of the Lord some sign of the state of the soul of her deceased sister at that moment. The dead woman suddenly raised her right hand and, seizing Catherine's, strongly pressed it, and after a while relaxed her grasp. Catherine interpreted from this that she had escaped the pains of hell, but was in purgatory, which moved her to offer her merits for her release and on the fifth day she was liberated.

Her humility, habitual and deep-seated, expressed itself in her

speech, gestures and actions. When she heard any person of holy life praised, she wept for her tepidity and little fervor in the divine service. Once, when entreating forgiveness for her sins, she saw above her a globe of fire, from which was outstretched a hand that blessed her.

Her love of solitude was such that, when still a little girl, she avoided churches where she knew there would be a great concourse of people. This desire to lead a solitary life grew in her to such a degree that, in 1512, when she was in her twenty-seventh year, on the night of November 9, the ground being then covered with hoarfrost, she rose without disturbing her mother, and, crucifix in hand, knelt and invoked the Holy Spirit to guide her across the Alps and lead her into some solitude or some monastery where she might shut herself up. Then she heard a voice utter these words: "Whither wouldst thou go? I do not will that thou shouldst leave." Looking around her and seeing no one, she thought she had offended God by what she conceived to be her presumption, and, unable to give effect to her wishes, remained inconsolable until the feast of St. John Baptist, when Christ appeared to her and said that the reason He had conferred so many gifts upon her was not that she should shut herself up in a hermitage or convent, but, remaining in her father's house, by her example and life, be the means of eternal salvation to many. He taught her to build the spiritual edifice on the foundation of humility and the walls thereof with tribulations. She seemed to live at once on earth and in heaven, combining the active with the contemplative or interior life. While she labored with her hands, her mind was raised on high; as the old Italian writer says, she read in the book of nature—*con la mente leggendo nella libreria della natura*—and by means of visible things rose to the contemplation of what is "heavenly and invisible."

This illiterate Italian peasant, who had not known the letters of the alphabet, did not know how to read until Our Lord Himself taught her, and who could read nothing but the Office, was consulted by many eminent and learned personages, Archbishops, Bishops and nobles like Claudio of Savoy, Lord of Racconigi, who sought her counsel and declared they had never found any one endowed with such luminous intelligence.

She led a very mortified life. Before she had passed her early youth she began the practice of astounding austerities and penances, fasting for some years on bread and water every day except Sunday from the beginning of November until Christmas. The great abstinences of the early saints were, for the most part, undergone in warm or temperate climates, like Egypt, parts of Syria and

Greece, but she practised this austerity in very cold seasons and in a country where, one of her Italian biographers naively remarks, people are hardly content to eat only three times a day. She wore round the waist an iron chain, which penetrated through the skin into the flesh.

Learning from theologians that every act of virtue performed under vow is more meritorious and earns a higher reward, after trying herself for some time by these austerities, hearing a preacher one day dilate on St. Catherine of Siena, on her return home she made a vow of perpetual virginity, consecrating it to the Most Holy Trinity and the Blessed Virgin. On the following night St. Catherine of Siena, more luminous than usual, appeared to her and said: "My daughter, your vow is pleasing to your spouse, to His Blessed Mother and to me also. Be of good heart, for we will help you in the spiritual warfare, and not fail thee at need. Take now these two roses, one white and one red, sent to thee by Thy spouse, which will be as a token on thy heart. The red rose will remind thee of the most ardent charity which He has manifested towards thee and all the human race when He shed His blood, and the white rose will remind thee of His great purity and innocence, which thou shouldst imitate."

She had much to endure in body as well as in spirit from demoniacal assaults, being attacked sometimes by one, sometimes by two, at other times by five and often by innumerable demons—supernatural conflicts, recorded in detail by her early biographers, in each of which she achieved a complete victory over Satan.

Testimony to Catherine's holiness was borne not only by the saints in glory but by many persons on earth as well as by many miracles which she wrought. A venerable priest related to Count Mirandola that, praying one day with great concentration of mind, he was called by his guardian angel to witness a marvelous thing and saw a young girl of between ten and eleven, very resplendent, and, on asking who it was, he was told it was Catherine of Racconigi and to pray for her; for, being a little girl and physically weak, she had great need of prayers. Mgr. Claudio, of Racconigi, who held the virtuous girl in high esteem, affirmed that he had often from his palace windows seen at night heavenly splendor over Catherine's poor little house, and ascertained that at that moment she was in converse with saints from Paradise. To a priest during the celebration of Mass the form of a little boy clad in red appeared over the altar and, taking a particle of the consecrated Host, said, "I want this for Catherine of Racconigi," and then suddenly disappeared. That holy priest knew that it was Christ who was that morning providing the food of angels for His angelic

spouse. Similar particles of the Host were taken by invisible hands from other priests and given to this holy virgin when unable to go to the church for Communion. In 1514 two priests, one of whom was a Dominican, saw the ring with which she was espoused to her Saviour. When praying in her room there was often seen over her head a light like a radiant star. Her face underwent a change and became more beautiful when in presence of the saints who visited her. A Benedictine monk named Maurus once, when in prayer, saw Christ hanging on the cross and Catherine, as it were, inlaid in all His members which suffered such torments for our salvation, an incident which prompted him to visit her, although he lived about three hundred miles from Racconigi. A holy friendship, which even death did not interrupt, was formed between them; for dying not many years afterward, he appeared to her and said he had gone to a happier life and frequently visited and consoled her in her tribulations. Persons were often conscious of a supernatural perfume in her room and believed it came from the presence of the saints, whose apparitions were of daily occurrence. This fragrance was inhaled by many who conversed with her outside her own house. She was once seen going to the church at Racconigi accompanied by three other Sisters of the same order, and, asked by her confessor who they were—as there were none others in that particular locality but herself—she replied with much hesitation that they were St. Catherine of Siena, the Blessed Osanna of Mantua and the Blessed Colomba of Rieti. In some of her numerous journeys she was visibly accompanied by the Blessed Virgin, St. Jerome, St. Peter Martyr and St. Thomas of Aquin. She made frequent journeys to Garessio, a populous town in Piedmont, at the base of the Apennines; to Vercelli, where the Duke, Duchess and other princes of the House of Savoy received her in their palace; to Casale, to Anne, Marchioness of Montferrat, a relative of the King of France, who would have liked to have kept her always with her and who said to Count Pico of Mirandola that in the midst of all her vicissitudes, her greatest consolation was to talk to Catherine, and to Mirandola, another castle of Rodo, which belonged to Count Pico, to whom she foretold that he would write her life and be assassinated by one of his near relations, prophecies which were fulfilled in the last year but one of her life.

For many years beforehand she knew that she was to migrate to Caramagna, a small town about three miles from Racconigi famous for its ancient abbey dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. God made known to her the house she would inhabit, and when ordered to go there, she obeyed like Abraham the voice of the Lord and

left her country, her family, her father's house and went into the country indicatel to her to spend there the twenty-three last years of her life, and die there, a martyr of charity. The celebrated preacher and writer, Father Paul Segneri, S. J., in his celebrated work, "*L'Incredule sans excuse*" (second part, c. xxviii.) places her among the most illustrious heroines of Christian charity who have exemplified the Catholic religion.

Towards the close of her life, to still further purify and exalt her, Providence permitted her to be tried by severe persecutions on the part of those who ought to have consoled and defended her. After the removal of her confessor she remained deprived of all human solace and comfort. When almost at the point of death, she was abandoned by all her friends and could have none of her order near her. She was thus made more conformable to her Divine Master in His Passion when "all leaving Him, fled." Like Him, too, she bore this desertion and desolation with indescribable patience, resignation and fortitude. Although, like St. Paul, longing to be dissolved and to be with Christ, nevertheless, like St. Martin, such was her love of her neighbor, such her thirst for souls, that she prayed the Lord that for their sakes He might leave her longer in this valley of tears, visiting upon her body the sins of the world. In her last days her heart was so aglow with divine love that it seemed as if it would spontaneously detach itself from her body. She lay as motionless as a corpse, and, scarcely breathing, seemed as if dead. Finally, on Sunday, the 4th of September, 1547, after devoutly receiving the last sacraments from a venerable priest, a Benedictine monk, many spiritual persons being then present, with her eyes raised to heaven she gave up her blessed soul to God, so calmly and sweetly that, though dead, she seemed only sleeping. The supernatural odor, so often exhaled and inhaled during life, was as perceptible after death as before.

In conformity with her last will, prefaced by the words so dear to her—"Jesus, Mary, my firm hope and my repose"—she was buried, not in the Rosary Chapel of the Friars Preachers at Racconigi, as she had signified in a previous will in 1535, but in her Dominican Church at Garessio, to the great regret of the inhabitants of Caramagna, who, however, had custody of her remains for five months. The whole population, the secular clergy as well as the Dominican friars, went out a long distance from Garessio to receive, under a canopy, her sanctified body, which was in a perfect state of preservation and continued to exhale a delightful odor, with the ringing of bells, the chanting of hymns, and by the light of torches, they bore it to the church, where it was exposed for veneration under the chapter altar, which is consecrated to her.

In 1761 the Bishop of Alba made an authentic verification of her remains and an examination of a large number of graces obtained through her intercession. On account of portions of her remains having been given as relics to Caramagna and Racconigi, the entire body did not rest there. At the time of the suppression of the regular orders in Piedmont in the beginning of the last century, the convent and church were sold and destroyed, the perpetrator of the sacrilegious spoliation subsequently dying in misery. The remains at Garessio, encased in wax and clothed in the habit of a Dominican tertiary, were deposited in a chapel dedicated to her in which her feast is annually solemnized.

Garessio was the native place of Father Peter Martyr Morelli, for whom she obtained many favors and to whom she foretold that he would be twice prior of the new convent at Racconigi and her last confessor. Father Augustin of Reggio, a Dominican religious, had been previously assigned to her by Our Lord as the director of her conscience. He went to Racconigi and in her name—for she was always ill—answered the numerous letters addressed to her by princes and great personages. Later, when advanced in years and debilitated in health, he obtained permission from his superiors to remain at Caramagua, whither he went with her and where he died a year before her in the reputation of holiness. Father Morelli revised her life by Pico of Mirandola, adding thereto things unknown to her first biographer, who had predeceased her. Thus was fulfilled her prophecy that the graces she had received would be made public in the Church and related by two different persons, well known to her. This life, although called a compendium,¹⁰ is the most complete and reliable.

A decree of Pius VII. raised her to the honors of the altar. Father Pius Anthony Molinier, of Chieri, near Turin, the successful promoter of her cause as well as of the causes of other saintly Dominicans, who composed the lessons and prayers for the proper office and Mass, died in 1811 on the eve of her feast, doubtless to keep it along with her in the company of the blessed, the Familia Dominicana who form a part of the Church Triumphant.

Devotion to this holy soul has never ceased to exist in Italy. Her

¹⁰ "Compendium of the Admirable deeds done by the Blessed Catherine of Racconigi, a most pure virgin of the Order of Penance of St. Dominic, divided into ten Books and composed by John Francis Pico, Prince of Mirandola and Count of Concordia, and finished by the Servant of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Father Peter Martyr Morelli of Garessio, of the Order of Friars Preachers: with Notes. Chieri and Turin: Press of Tory and Dalmazzo, 1858." A pious tertiary of Turin had this work republished, adding thereto both her Wills, and with a Preface by Father Dominic Massoli, O. P. Father Hyacinth Daniel, of Turin, formerly a Jesuit, published a short Life.

room in her humble home at Racconigi was converted into a chapel. Over the altar is represented the Redeemer restoring to His spouse her heart adorned with rays in the form of a cross, in which are read the words "Jesus, my hope," and upon the altar is a reliquary containing a bone of the Beata, perfectly preserved, a gift made in 1751 by the Dominicans of Gressio. When any public calamity befell the town, the faithful of all classes, even from distant districts, repaired in pilgrimage to this sanctified centre of devotion, where they heard Mass, presented offerings, petitioned for favors or returned thanks for favors received through her intercession. In 1835, when an epidemic of cholera brought death and desolation in its train, they carried her image in procession, promising to fast for twenty years on the eve of her feast and present a rich chalice of gold and silver, whereupon the epidemic ceased. In gratitude they erected a church, dedicated under her invocation, in the vicinity of her birthplace, the pious Queen, Maria Theresa, wife of Charles Albert, securing for a site an adjoining house, the foundation stone, laid in 1836, bearing the following inscription:

B Catherinæ De Matteis, concivi
 Ob morbum indileum anno
 Abhinc jugatum,
 Racconixium Memor,
 Provida. Reg. Karl Alb et Mar Ther Aura
 Prior D Piasco Cum Præp Sacco
 Utroque Clero, municipio, populo
 Adstantibus
 Ad complendum novæ civitatis votum
 Prid. Non. Sept. Anno. MDCCCXXXVI.
 Sacelli primum lapidem p.

This church, raised at the public expense, was so constructed that from the floor one could see Catherine's room and ascend thereto by a small stairs. King Charles Albert and his Queen often heard Mass in this church and room; for during her life and after her death she has always been an object of affectionate veneration to the House of Savoy.¹¹ Mary Adelaide, wife of Victor Emmanuel I., presented a rich and handsome chasuble, worked by her own hands, which is used every year, on September 4, when her feast is kept in presence of a great concourse of priests and people. There is a chapel dedicated to her in the parish church of St. John Baptist, erected seventy-six years ago on the site of the older church in which Catherine was baptized. On the first Sunday of every September a pious confraternity keeps her feast therein with great solemnity. Mass is celebrated, a panegyric delivered and after appropriate chants and hymns her statue is borne in a procession in which the municipal council take part. The stuccoed chapel is adorned with statues and frescoes, the altar piece representing Our Lady, Catherine and some of the saints who appeared to her. The

¹¹ The Italian royal family have a summer residence in Racconigi.

City Council repairs to this altar on August 29, makes an offering and assists at Mass, while the Dominican convent keeps her feast on the day fixed for the whole order.

The house in which she lived at Caramagna, on the outer door of which is inscribed, "House in which lived and died holily the Blessed Catherine of Racconigi," has also been converted into a chapel. Among the frequent visitors to this sanctuary were the late King Humbert, Prince Amadeus and the Princesses Marie Clotilde and Maria Pia. Father Francis Thomas Josa, O. P., formerly professor of theology in the University of Turin and later rector of the Pontifical Seminary at Rome, composed the following legend, which epitomizes the history of this house:

"The Blessed Catherine Mattei of Racconigi, of the Third Order of St. Dominic, in this dwelling for many years led a holy and marvelous life, and from this little cell, later changed into a chapel, the saint who inhabited it quitted it for heaven on the 4th of September, 1547. This house, after several centuries, was bought by the theologian, James Gallus of Caramagna, Canon-Archdeacon of the Cathedral of Ivræa. He made it his presbytery, added to it the present chapel and enriched it with gold, marble, stucco and paintings. It was very fitting; for in a place witness of the mysteries of such lofty sanctity, the city of Caramagna could not do less to testify its gratitude no less than its piety to the memory of the illustrious spouse of Christ."

In addition to this there is a chapel dedicated to her in the parish church. She is also held in particular veneration in Turin. On the publication of the decree of the Holy See approving of her cult, Napoleon I. donated an altar for the new chapel erected in her honor in that city. It was to have been marble, but only the modern portion was made, enriched with paintings. She is likewise honored in other churches in Turin, and the ribbon-workers of that city keep her feast on the first Sunday of September. The Dominican nuns of Chieri, on the right bank of the Po, not far from Turin, have her portrait, the head environed with an aureola, her brow encircled with a crown of thorns, a large cross on her left shoulder, a small cross over her heart, the stigmata, a lily in her hand, three rings on her finger, and the Holy Ghost, as it were, descending upon her. One of the large chapels in an older convent in Turin, where the order had two,¹² is dedicated to her, and the Dominican tertiaries venerate her as their patroness.

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¹² One of the convents was destroyed at the suppression, the purchaser dying in poverty: the other has passed out of the possession of the order and been converted into a college.

THE ESCHATOLOGY OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.*

*The special principles employed in the following exegesis are, for the most part, not original with the author, who desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to the article, "Jesus Christ," by the Rev. Leonce de Grandmaison, in the "Dictionnaire Apologétique de la Foi Catholique."

THE records of human history present the figure of a single man whose life-story has arrested such universal attention as to become a part of the common knowledge of mankind. That man is Jesus, the prophet of Nazareth. His four biographers unanimously record that He made for Himself the most tremendous claim that the human mind can even conceive—the claim of His own personal identity with the Deity. To such a claim the human mind, with its natural instinct for truth, immediately responds in the words of the ancient dilemma: "Aut Deus, aut non bonus." Either His assertion was true or He was an impostor. It then remains to choose between these two alternatives by examining the records of His life.

First, the Gospels themselves have been examined, not by impartial critics only, but by declared adversaries. Yet their historical value has never been successfully impeached. Simplicity, sincerity, self-consistency in the highest degree, first-hand experience of the facts recorded, unity of theme and purpose, historical and geographical accuracy and a marvelous concord in substantials combined with precisely that individual freedom in detail which precludes conspiracy—these are the notes which the Gospels bear upon their every page and line, and which stamp them as genuine and truthful if ever human writing was. No contemporary writer questions them, or even indirectly contradicts them. Many bear external testimony, intentional or unconscious, to their truth. And thousands of their readers, in many generations, have calmly and deliberately surrendered their very lives rather than assent to the doubtfulness, not of the naturally credible portions of this history, but of those of its assertions which appear most extravagant and improbable.

There is, therefore, no course remaining for the reasonable mind but to accept the truth of the record, and go on to examine the character of its hero. Again the dilemma, "Aut Deus, aut non bonus." He must therefore be taken as His biographers present Him, and judged on His own merits. In such a process the step must be from the second alternative to the first, as from the more easily to the less easily known. Was Jesus merely a pretender? For nearly twenty centuries the civilized world has been engaged in examining this question, each successive generation bringing to

bear upon the subject its newly acquired knowledge. The result is nothing less than startling. It is unanimously the verdict of Jesus' own supreme judge on earth: "I find no fault in this man."

But the obvious conclusion, to the former alternative, is to many an unwelcome one. Resentful of the proposal to assent to the truth of an inscrutable mystery, they tell us that all such conclusions are *a priori* irrational—as if, forsooth, the human intellect should only be discredited in confessing itself finite. This class of critics has sought refuge in a third possibility—that the hero of the Gospels was deluded. This theory has appeared in every stage, not even excluding the supposition that Jesus was insane. Such a charge was made against Him twice in His own lifetime—once by companions of his early life, startled by a misleading report of His sudden notoriety,¹ and later by some carping critics among His auditors.² The same charge has been occasionally repeated in later ages; but it is now definitely abandoned, as, indeed, it had been before His death. His contemporaries recorded its absolute rejection on their part, and they were surely the best judges. They subjected Him to five serious criminal trials, scourged Him to unconsciousness, nailed Him to a malefactor's gibbet and gathered around to overwhelm His dying moments with the bitterest reproaches that hatred could invent. No human society, civilized, barbarous or savage, ever meted out such treatment to a deluded visionary.

The defenders of the delusion theory, therefore, have been obliged to take up a milder position and search the records of Jesus' life for ordinary human error, aware that this, if established against Him, is no less fatal to His paramount claim. To summarize the history of this method of attack is not our present purpose, nor is it worthy of serious effort, since the general objections to which it appeals are so far-fetched that the least attempt at candid examination at once dispels them. There is, however, one particular department of the gospel history which seems to present more obvious difficulty, and which, in consequence, is a fruitful field for a certain modern school of rationalistic criticism. We refer to those portions of the predictions of Jesus which appear to involve a confusion of two distinct events: the end of the national existence of the Jews and the end of the world.

The nature of the objections derived from this source can only be understood by viewing the controverted predictions in their historical setting. The ideal of the Christ, the Messiah or Anointed of God, who was to appear as His vicegerent upon earth, had grown

¹ Mark iii., 21.

² John x., 20.

in clearness and definiteness from Moses through the prophetical writings until the last touch was added to the picture by Malachias, with whose message the prophetical canon of the Hebrews had closed some four centuries before the time of Jesus. During this latter interval the teachers of Israel, pondering over the more evident messianic passages in the sacred writings, had observed therein two distinct functions attributed to the Christ who was to come. On the one hand they found Him depicted as a lineal descendant of the great David and the ruler of a universal realm of order, justice and peace under the sway of those moral principles which as yet were the inheritance of Israel alone among the nations.³ On the other hand, they saw the promised Christ standing in the majesty of God amid the ruin of a falling universe, and, in the name and authority of the Creator, pronouncing upon every human soul the sentence of acceptance or of reprobation which its own moral decision had merited.⁴

These two ideals, the regal Christ and the "eschatological," the Jewish nation as a whole never succeeded in harmoniously uniting in the concept of a single person. In consequence, there arose two distinct schools of messianic doctrine and literature. Since the notion of an earthly reign of universal justice was preponderant in the vast majority of messianic passages of the Scriptures, it was but natural that Israel's official theologians, the rabbis of the various schools, should have emphasized the Christ of political supremacy (as they conceived him to be), to the virtual exclusion of His counterpart, the Christ of the final consummation. It was also but natural that this Christ of the rabbis should have become the expectation of the people and have rendered them incapable of comprehending a Christ whose visible reign on earth was to be but brief,⁵ but whose sway in the person of His successors would be both universal and perpetual.

But the eschatological conception of the Christ as final and supreme Judge, though far less prominent both in the Old Testament and in the mind of the people, was by no means doomed to extinction. Appearing in the later period of the sacred writings, it gained in force, after the last of the Prophets, to such an extent as to become the central theme of those⁶ of the Hebrew apocryphal writ-

³ Cf. Ps. xlii., lxxi.; Isa. li., 2-4; ix., 6-7; xxxiii., 1-4; xl., 1-11; xlii., 1-12; xlix.; lxi.; Jer. xxxi., 31-34; xxxii., 37-40; Ezech. xxxiv., 32-34; Dan. ii., 44; 45; vii., 13, 14, 27; Amos ix., 11, 12; Mich. iv., 1-3; Zach. ix., 9-10; et al.

⁴ Cf. Isa. xxxiv., 1-4; li., 5-6; Jer. xxv., 31-33; Dan. xii., 1-2; Joel iii., 11-15; Soph. iii., 8.

⁵ John xii., 34.

⁶ Book of Enoch; Book of Jubilees; Psalms of Solomon; et al.

ings which pertain to the class of literature known as "apocalyptic." The authors of these works did not, it is true, wholly reject the idea of a perpetual messianic reign on earth, nor of its political nature; but they foresaw this reign as inaugurated by the collapse of the whole existing social order and by a general judgment, the signal for which would be the very appearance of the Christ upon earth. The class with whom this idea found favor seems to have been the necessarily small fraternity of mystical and ascetical zealots; and Jesus Himself, in one of the passages which will be discussed, foretold that in future times of crisis and doubt there would arise impostors in whose doctrine the statements "I am He" and "The time is at hand" would be understood as virtually identical in meaning.⁷

It is mainly this historical distinctness of the eschatological from the regal ideal of the Christ that has furnished the above-mentioned rationalistic school with the peculiar viewpoint from which its attack on the inerrancy of Jesus' doctrine is derived. The members of this school differ somewhat in details of both matter and method; but their main contention is that Jesus Himself belonged to the eschatological school of Jewish interpreters. Neglecting or rejecting His clear and frequent references to the permanence of His doctrine through years of history yet to come, they lay a disproportionate stress upon His every utterance with regard to His office as supreme and final Judge. They would have us believe that this was in His estimation the central truth of His system; that His view of His own office was, if not actually inadequate, at least much more limited than His followers have always believed; and that, regarding Himself as the Christ in this aspect only, He also expected, as His own utterances show, that the end of His earthly testimony would be intimately connected, if not identical, with the end of all things earthly. Could this be indeed established, Jesus would stand convicted of serious error. The old argument, "*Aut Deus, aut non bonus,*" would no longer be conclusive.

So inadequate a view of the mind of the Master could not have persisted, even for a generation, without some objective support. The supposed evidence lies in some real difficulties presented by those passages in the gospel narrative to which allusion has already been made. These passages are, mainly, four in number, and their contents may here be briefly indicated.

The first passage is peculiar to Matthew and occurs in his tenth chapter, where he records the first mission of the twelve apostles during the early part of Jesus' ministry, and the instructions which

⁷ Luke xxi., 8.

He gave them on that occasion. Among these instructions we find a warning of persecutions to come, terminating in a prediction that "the coming of the Son of man" will find the evangelization of Israel not yet completed.⁸

The second passage is common to the three "Synoptists"—Matthew, Mark and Luke. All of them place it in the same context—directly following Peter's great confession of faith and preceding the narrative of the Transfiguration. This passage begins with the lesson of constant self-denial in the following of Christ, and ends with the prediction that some of his present hearers shall see His coming with their mortal eyes.⁹

The third passage—the longest, the most complex and by far the most difficult—is also common, in its main content, to the three Synoptists. By all of them it is placed directly after the last public discourse of the Master's life. Upon His departure from the Temple at the conclusion of this discourse, on the Tuesday after His triumphal entrance into Jerusalem, an allusion to the magnificent buildings elicits from Him the amazing prediction that they will one day be razed to the ground. A little later, when asked how soon this is to happen and what events will herald its approach, Jesus utters the remarkable series of predictions which appear in this section, comprising an entire chapter in Matthew and Mark and the greater part of a chapter in Luke.¹⁰

The fourth and last passage in question is again common to all the Synoptists, and pertains to Jesus' own confession of His Messiahship, uttered before the Sanhedrin at a trial which, according to Matthew and Mark, took place during the night following His arrest, while Luke assigns it to the dawn of the following morning. This solemn profession of His divine office and mission Jesus proceeded to confirm by a prediction that His judges should witness His appearance in the full majesty of divine authority.¹¹

The difficulties arising from these portions of the gospel narrative may best be exhibited in their concrete analysis. We shall therefore begin with the third of the four passages above cited, as most fully exemplifying the principles of interpretation which govern all the four alike.

I. THE THIRD PASSAGE.

This lengthy discourse has been called "the Eschatological Gospel" on account of its exclusive devotion to "the consummation of

⁸ Matt. x., 16-23.

⁹ Matt. xvi., 24-28; Mark viii., 34-39; Luke ix., 23-27.

¹⁰ Matt. xxiv.; Mark xiii.; Luke xxi., 5-36.

¹¹ Matt. xxvi., 63-64; Mark xiv., 61-62; Luke xxi., 66-70.

things" and to the moral lessons deduced therefrom. The rationalistic argument against Jesus' perfect comprehension of His own mission and of the destiny of his doctrine on earth owes its whole force to certain real difficulties in the interpretation of this passage, which cast their shadow upon the more restricted assertions recorded in the other three. The first of these difficulties lies in the fact that the two events here predicted—the end of Jewish national existence and the end of the world—are strongly similar in some of their characteristic aspects. Secondly, their predictions are recorded by the evangelists in one and the same context. And thirdly, the distinctness of the two themes in the mind of the speaker is not always evident to the reader, owing to sudden and somewhat obscure transitions from one to the other.

These are the facts which lend countenance to the theory of the "eschatological school" of rationalistic exegesis. We are not concerned with the more moderate portion of this school, who would safeguard the inerrancy of Jesus only at the expense of the historical value of the narrative, by viewing the passage now under discussion as a conglomerate of preëxistent apocalyptic fragments with authentic discourses of the Master. Such a position is neither sound in itself nor necessary to the purpose. Insisting upon the historical integrity of the entire gospel record, our aim is the refutation of the more radical theory, that Jesus was possessed by the idea that His very presence on earth was a sign of the end of all things, which was to come, at the latest, within the life of His own generation; and that this is proved by the obvious sense of the passage now under discussion.

Had this passage never been written, the above theory would find little support elsewhere in the Gospels, many of whose statements are, in fact, its most abundant refutation. For Jesus everywhere speaks of His Church—the "Kingdom of heaven," "the Kingdom of God," and therefore the realm over which the Christ should reign—as destined to a prolonged history, and requiring, moreover, such a gradual growth and development of its latent powers as could only be consistent with the finite and imperfect social order of the present state of man, and not with the new and perfect order which is to succeed it. Now He likens the Church to a tiny seed destined to become a great tree;¹² now, to leaven permeating a mass of meal;¹³ now, to a field in which both wheat and cockle are to reach their full maturity before the time of harvesting.¹⁴ In a society whose mission was "to all nations,"¹⁵ and whose benefits

¹² Matt. xlii., 31-32.

¹³ Ibid., 33.

¹⁴ Mark xlii., 24-30, 37-43.

¹⁵ Matt. xxviii., 19.

were to be offered to "every creature,"¹⁶ the concepts expressed in these figures could not be verified in one generation, nor, indeed, in many, but only through centuries of continuous existence. And as if to make His purpose clear beyond possibility of dispute, Jesus frequently refers to His own visible absence from His Church as prolonged far into the future. He is the master "going into a far country"¹⁷ and returning only "after a long time;"¹⁸ He is the son and heir of the lord of the vineyard, which, after His murder, is to be let out to other and worthier occupants than the first.¹⁹

In the light of these teachings, the theory that Jesus was only a representative of the eschatological school of messianic interpreters of His own time falls utterly to the ground, unless it can be successfully maintained that in the passage now under examination He actually and clearly contradicts Himself. It is evident that such a claim cannot be reasonably established by any mere off-hand assertions based upon a superficial reading of the passage in question. To follow such a method would be to set at defiance the simplest principle of exegesis by opposing a single passage of doubtful import against what is clearly the mind of the Gospel as a whole. If any reasonable explanation of the "eschatological gospel" can be offered which is in accord with the rest of Jesus' teachings, the presumption is certainly in favor of that explanation.

Not only, we believe, can such an explanation be found, but even more. Our purpose is to offer a reasonable explanation of the three sources of difficulty already indicated. This involves:

(a) An explanation of the elements in which the two events here predicted are similar and of those wherein they differ.

(b) An explanation of their appearance in the same context.

(c) The assignment of obscure transitional portions to their proper connection with one theme or the other, and the reasons for such assignment.

Before proceeding, however, to this discussion, it becomes necessary for the convenience of the reader to transcribe in full the passages under treatment. In doing so, we shall indicate at once the division which the subsequent arguments will tend to justify.

THE INTRODUCTION.

Matthew xxiv.

Mark xlii.

Luke xxi.

(1) And Jesus being come out of the temple, went away. And his	(1) And as he was going out of the temple, one of his disciples said	(5) And some saying that it was adorned with goodly
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¹⁶ Mark xvi., 16.

¹⁷ Luke xix., 12.

¹⁸ Matt. xxv., 19.

¹⁹ Matt xxi., 33-41; Mark xii., 1-9; Luke xx., 9-16.

disciples came to show him the buildings of the temple. (2) And he answering, said to them: Do you see all these things? Amen I say to you, there shall not be left here a stone upon a stone that shall not be destroyed. (3) And when he was sitting on mount Olivet, the disciples came to him privately, saying: Tell us when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the consummation of the world?

to him: Master, behold what manner of stones, and what buildings are here. (2) And Jesus answering, said to him: Seest thou all these great buildings? There shall not be left a stone upon a stone, that shall not be thrown down. (3) And as he sat on the mount of Olivet, over against the temple, Peter and James and John and Andrew asked him apart: (4) Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign when all these things shall begin to be fulfilled?

stones and gifts, he said: These things which you see, the days will come in which there shall not be left a stone upon a stone that shall not be thrown down. (7) And they asked him, saying: Master, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign when they shall begin to come to pass?

PART 1.

(4) And Jesus answering, said to them: Take heed that no man seduce you: (5) for many will come in my name saying: I am Christ: and they will seduce many. (6) And you shall hear of wars and rumors of wars. See that ye be not troubled. For these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet. (7) For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; and there shall be pestilences, and famines, and earthquakes in places; (8) now all these are the beginnings of sorrows. (9) Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall put you to death: and you shall be hated by all nations for my name's sake. (10) And then shall many be scandalized: and shall betray one another, and shall hate one another. (11) And many false prophets shall rise, and shall seduce many. (12) And because iniquity hath abounded, the charity of many shall grow cold. (13) But he that shall persevere to the end, he shall be saved. (14) And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world, for a testimony to all nations, and then shall the consummation come.

(5) And Jesus answering, began to say to them: Take heed lest any man deceive you. (6) For many shall come in my name, saying, I am he; and they shall deceive many. (7) And when you shall hear of wars and rumors of wars, fear ye not. For such things must needs be, but the end is not yet. (8) For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, and there shall be earthquakes in divers places, and famines. These things are the beginnings of sorrows. (9) But look to yourselves. For they shall deliver you up to councils, and in the synagogues you shall be beaten, and you shall stand before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony unto them. (10) And unto all nations the gospel must first be preached. (11) And when they shall lead you and deliver you up, be not thoughtful beforehand what you shall speak; but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye. For it is not you that speak, but the Holy Ghost. (12) And the brother shall betray his brother unto death, and the father his son; and children shall rise up against the parents, and shall work their death.

(8) Who said, Take heed you be not seduced; for many will come in my name, saying: I am he; and the time is at hand: go ye not therefore after them. (9) And when you shall hear of wars and seditions, be not terrified: these things must first come to pass; but the end is not yet presently. (10) Then he said to them: Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. (11) And there shall be great earthquakes in divers places, and pestilences, and famines, and (12) But before all these things, they will lay their hands on you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues and into prisons, dragging you before kings and governors, for my name's sake. (13) And it shall happen unto you for a testimony. (14) Lay it up therefore in your hearts, not to meditate before how you shall answer: (15) for I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to resist and gainsay. (16) And you shall be betrayed by your parents and brethren, and kinsmen and friends; and some of you they will put to death. (17) And you shall be hated by all men for my

(13) And you shall be hated by all men for my name's sake. But he that shall endure unto the end, he shall be saved.

name's sake. (18) But a hair of your head shall not perish. (19) In your patience you shall possess your souls.

PART 2.

(15) When therefore you shall see the abomination of desolation, which was spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place: he that readeth let him understand.

(16) Then they that are in Judea, let them flee to the mountains: (17) and he that is on the housetop, let him not come down to take anything out of his house: (18) and he that is in the field, let him not go back to take his coat. (19) And woe to them that are with child, and that give suck in those days. (20) But pray that your flight be not in the winter, or on the sabbath.

(14) And when you shall see the abomination of desolation, standing where it ought not: he that readeth let him understand: then let them that are in Judea, flee unto the mountains: (15) and let him that is on the housetop, not go down into the house, nor enter therein to take anything out of the house: (16) and let him that shall be in the field, not turn back to take up his garment. (17) And woe to them that are with child, and that give suck in those days. (18) But pray ye that these things happen not in winter.

(20) And when you shall see Jerusalem compassed about with an army; then know that the desolation thereof is at hand. (21) Then let those who are in Judea, flee to the mountains; and those who are in the midst thereof, depart out: and those who are in the countries, not enter into it. (22) For these are the days of vengeance, that all things may be fulfilled, that are written. (23) But woe to them that are with child, and give suck in those days; for there shall be great distress in the land, and wrath upon this people. (24) And they shall fall by the edge of the sword; and shall be led away captives into all nations; and Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles; till the times of the nations be fulfilled.

PART 3.

(21) For there shall be then great tribulation, such as hath not been from the beginning of the world until now, neither shall be. (22) And unless those days had been shortened, no flesh should be saved; but for the sake of the elect those days shall be shortened. (23) Then if any man shall say to you: Lo here is Christ, or there; do not believe him. (24) For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders, insomuch as to deceive (if possible) even the elect. (25) Behold I have told it to you beforehand. (26) If therefore they shall say to you: Behold he is in the desert, go ye not out: behold he is in the closets, believe it not. (27) For as

(19) For in those days shall be such tribulations, as were not from the beginning of the creation which God created until now, neither shall be. (20) And unless the Lord had shortened the days, no flesh should be saved: but for the sake of the elect which he hath chosen, he hath shortened the days. (21) And then if any man shall say to you, Lo, here is Christ; lo, he is here: do not believe. (22) For there will rise up false Christs and false prophets, and they shall show signs and wonders, to seduce (if it were possible) even the elect. (23) Take you heed therefore; behold I have foretold you all things.

lightning cometh out of the east, and appeareth even into the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be. (28) Whosoever the body shall be, there shall the eagles also be gathered together.

PART 4.

(29) And immediately after the tribulation of those days, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of heaven shall be moved. (30) And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn: and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with much power and majesty. (31) And he shall send his angels with a trumpet, and a great voice: and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from the farthest parts of the heavens to the utmost bounds of them.

(24) But in those days, after that tribulation, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light. (25) And the stars of heaven shall be falling down, and the powers that are in heaven shall be moved. (26) And then shall they see the Son of man coming in the clouds, with great power and glory. (27) And then shall he send his angels, and shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from the uttermost part of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven.

(25) And there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars; and upon the earth distress of nations, by reason of the confusion of the roaring of the sea and of the waves; (26) men withering away for fear, and expectation of what shall come upon the whole world. For the powers of heaven shall be moved; (27) and then they shall see the Son of man coming in a cloud with great power and majesty. (28) But when these things begin to come to pass, look up, and lift up your heads, because your redemption is at hand.

PART 5.

(32) And from the fig-tree learn a parable: when the branch thereof is now tender, and the leaves come forth, you know that summer is nigh. (33) So you also, when you shall see all these things, know ye that it is nigh, even at the doors. (34) Amen I say to you, that this generation shall not pass, till all these things be done. (35) Heaven and earth shall pass, but my words shall not pass.

(28) Now of the fig-tree learn ye a parable. When the branch thereof is now tender, and the leaves are come forth, you know that summer is very near. (29) So you also when you shall see these things come to pass, know ye that it is very nigh, even at the doors. (30) Amen I say to you, that this generation shall not pass, until all these things be done. (31) Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.

(29) And he spoke to them a similitude. See the fig-tree, and all the trees: (30) when they now shoot forth their fruit, you know that summer is nigh; (31) so you also, when you shall see these things come to pass, know that the kingdom of God is at hand. (32) Amen I say to you, this generation shall not pass away, till all things be fulfilled. (33) Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.

PART 6.

(36) But of that day and hour no one knoweth, no, not the angels of heaven, but the Father alone. (37) And as in the days of Noe, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be. (38) For as in the days before the flood,

(32) But of that day or hour no man knoweth, neither the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but the Father. (33) Take ye heed, watch and pray. For ye know not when the time is. (34) Even as a man who going into a far

(34) And take heed to yourselves, lest perhaps your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness, and the cares of this life, and that day come upon you suddenly. (35) For as a snare shall it come upon all that sit upon

they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, even till that day in which Noe entered into the ark, (39) and they knew not till the flood came, and took them all away: so also shall the coming of the Son of man be. (40) Then two shall be in the field: one shall be taken, and one shall be left. (41) Two women shall be grinding at the mill: one shall be taken, and one shall be left. (42) Watch ye therefore, because you know not what hour your Lord will come. (43) But this know ye, that if the good man of the house knew at what hour the thief would come, he would certainly watch, and would not suffer his house to be broken open. (44) Wherefore be you also ready, because at what hour you know not, the Son of man will come. (45) Who, thinkest thou, is a faithful and wise servant, whom his lord hath appointed over his family, to give them meat in season? (46) Blessed is that servant, whom when his lord shall come, he shall find so doing. (47) Amen I say to you, he shall place him over all his goods. (48) But if that evil servant shall say in his heart, My lord is long a coming: (49) and shall begin to strike his fellow-servants, and shall eat, and drink with drunkards: (50) the lord of that servant shall come in a day that he hopeth not, and at an hour that he knoweth not: (51) and shall separate him, and appoint his portion with the hypocrites. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

country, left his house; and gave authority to his servants over every work, and commanded the porter to watch. (35) Watch ye therefore (for you know not when the lord of the house cometh: at even, or at midnight, or at the cock crowing, or in the morning), (36) lest coming on a sudden, he find you sleeping. (37) And what I say to you I say to all: Watch.

In the above division of this much-discussed passage we neglect for the present a minute analysis of the discourse and confine ourselves to the indication of its dominant themes. The resulting division shows one introductory paragraph and six others comprising the body of the discourse. The introduction²⁰ relates the cir-

²⁰ Matt. xxiv., 1-3.; Mark xiii., 1-4; Luke xxi., 5-7.

cumstances of Jesus' first prediction and the disciples' request for further information. The six remaining paragraphs record the Master's predictions and admonitions on the two subjects proposed: the fall of Jerusalem and the final judgment of all mankind. The first paragraph²¹ enumerates the calamities which are to precede and foreshadow the destruction of Jerusalem and the ruin of the Jewish nation; the second paragraph²² foretells the catastrophe itself. Now the theme changes, and the second question of the disciples—"what shall be the sign of Thy coming, and of the consummation of the world?"—is answered in a similar order, the third paragraph²³ warning them of calamities which must afflict the Church before the end of the world, while the fourth²⁴ foretells the sudden and unprefigured arrival of the end itself. In the fifth paragraph²⁵ we are again recalled to the fall of Jerusalem by a brief parable, warning the disciples of the unerring certainty with which that event shall follow the calamities already designated as its signs. Finally, the sixth paragraph²⁶ performs a corresponding office with respect to the final coming of Christ, embodying an admonition, also by means of a parable, to be ever watchful and prepared for an event which no determinate signs shall prefigure, and which shall come suddenly and without warning upon all.

We are now prepared to examine successively the root-principles of the difficulties presented by our passage, in which principles alone can be found the key to a true solution.

(A) CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TWO EVENTS.

The first source of difficulty in distinguishing the two events here predicted lies in the fact that they possess certain marked characteristics in common. Both are represented as real historical events in future time. Moreover, several of their physical and moral aspects are expressible, and in some cases actually expressed, in terms which are equally appropriate to either the one event or the other. Thus, although the term "Parousia," literally "a being present," and hence "a becoming present" or "arrival"²⁷ has in modern exegesis been by common consent restricted to the final coming of the Christ in judgment, it is nevertheless true that the fearful abolition of the ancient sanctuary and its rites, together with the miraculous powers and diffusion of Christianity, was also

²¹ Matt. iv., 14; Mark v., 13; Luke viii., 10.

²² Matt. xv., 20; Mark xiv., 18; Luke xx., 24.

²³ Matt. xxi., 28; Mark xix., 23; Luke elsewhere.

²⁴ Matt. xx., 31; Mark xxiv., 27; Luke xxv., 28.

²⁵ Matt. xxxii., 35; Mark xxviii., 31; Luke xxix., 33.

²⁶ Matt. xxxvi., 51; Mark xxxii., 37; Luke xxxiv., 36.

²⁷ Cf. the LXX. in Judith x., 18; 2 Macc. viii., 12; xv., 21; 3 Macc. iii., 17.

a real "coming" of Christ to judge His faithless people by the patent triumph of His own cause and by a manifest rejection of that dispensation which had outlived its purpose in the divine economy when it formally renounced God's supreme representative in the flesh. Again, the expressions "consummation" and "end" are by their very nature appropriate to the closing of the probation of either an apostate nation or a faithless race.²⁸ Moreover, since moral probation in either case must be thorough, it follows that either event will be preceded by "tribulations" calculated to test the principles by which men live and to sift the faithful from among the reprobate. And because of this final accumulation of trials, either event when it does occur will bear in some sense the character of a "judgment," whereby the good and the evil, already separated by their own choice, will stand publicly manifested as the recipients of reward or of punishment. And finally, the judgment, the judgment in either case will in itself be a manifestation of the "glory," the "power," the "majesty" of the Judge, whether such manifestation consist only in the triumph of His cause or whether it also involve the visible glorification of His Person.

But if the two "comings" of Christ to "judgment" are identical in these aspects, they differ in certain other marks which are not less characteristic. Within the scope of the above narrative, the "coming of the Son of man" is invested with attributes not only irreconcilable, but mutually contradictory. Now are His disciples warned to save themselves from the catastrophes of judgment by fleeing from Judaea,²⁹ and now are they assured that not even the uttermost part of the earth can afford them refuge.³⁰ Now is the Master's coming as certainly to be foreseen from the signs of the times as is the approach of summer from the budding of the trees;³¹ now is His coming so sudden and unannounced that only eternal vigilance is the price of salvation.³² Whether attributes so contrary as these should appear in the same context, or as far asunder as the first page of the Gospel from its last, one thing is certain: they cannot possibly be predicated of one and the same physical event. Jesus in this passage is certainly recorded as predicting, not one coming only, but two; and in these distinctive attributes He clearly supplies us with the first key to the correct analysis of the passage in question.

²⁸ Although the noun itself does not occur in the LXX., the verb is frequent, its fundamental meaning being "to bring to an end," whether by simply "completing" a work (Isa. x, 12) or by "consuming" (Id. i., 28; x., 23).

²⁹ Matt. xxiv., 16-20; Mark xiii., 14-18; Luke xxi., 21-23.

³⁰ Matt. xxx., 31; Mark xxvi., 27; Luke xxvi., 28.

³¹ Matt. xxiii., 33; Mark xxviii., 29; Luke xxi., 31.

³² Matt. xxv., 13; Mark xiii., 35; Luke xxi., 36.

(B) THEIR IDENTIFICATION IN CONTEXT.

But, it is asked, if Jesus intended to foretell two distinct events, why are the two sets of predictions thus intermingled?

The question of context may become a vexed one for the harmonist of the Gospels unless one simple principle be borne in mind. In the Gospels, no less than in any other historical or biographical work, regard must be had for the degree of accuracy in chronological order which serves the purpose of the author. A very common practice, even in carefully arranged biographies, is that of grouping together facts which illustrate a tendency in the subject's career or a phase of his character, with little or no regard for the order of their occurrence in time. More readily may this be expected in writings whose authors tell their story with but slight pretence to orderly sequence in detail. But most of all should we be prepared for a topical rather than a chronological arrangement in biographical sketches whose material, however carefully preserved, is positively known to have been matter of oral tradition, and that in very common use, for years before it was ever committed to writing. Even Luke's prefatory announcement of **his intention** to write "in order"³³ is, in view of the above fact, subject to some qualification; and the other two Synoptists neither profess nor betray any such intention, at least in matters of detail. All this considered, we may soundly admit the possibility that "the Eschatological Gospel" was not, as it stands, uttered consecutively on one occasion.

There are internal signs that this is not only a possibility but a fact. Two passages of considerable length appearing in Matthew's version of this discourse and partly in Mark's are placed by Luke in other contexts.³⁴ Yet that Luke is throughout the whole discourse (as some would have it) designedly the redactor and corrector of the other two cannot be successfully maintained so long as it cannot be shown independently that Luke himself, either here or elsewhere, never resorts to an arrangement which is topical rather than chronological.

In view of the above considerations and in the light of the paramount moral purpose of the Church in relating her Founder's life and teachings, it is by no means abnormal that two predictions so largely at one in moral import, even though uttered separately in the Master's actual teachings, should appear in one context in the evangelical record. The very least that can be said is that the superficial appearance thus presented of their confusion one with

³³ Luke i., 3.

³⁴ Compare Matt. xxiv., 23-28 and 37-41 with Luke xvii., 22-37; also Matt. xxiv., 45-51, with Luke xii., 37-46.

the other is very far from being a sufficient reason for concluding that two such events were ever actually confused in the mind of their predictor. Nor is the possibility just allowed—that the present arrangement of the two predictions is due to the evangelists and not to Jesus Himself—necessary to establish our contention, since even their original utterance in this form would have been entirely in keeping with a recognized device of prophetic style, of which more anon.³⁵

That Jesus' disciples before His ascension did actually regard the two events as one is evident from their question as recorded by Matthew.³⁶ To their minds, not yet illuminated by the plenary gift of the Holy Ghost, the destruction of God's ancient dispensation might well seem identical with the consummation of all things earthly. From this, however, it by no means follows that the same idea still governed their minds at the time when the Gospels were written. From certain of the Epistles many passages might be adduced which would serve to refute such an hypothesis. This, however, is not to our present purpose, since we are directly concerned with the mind of Jesus, not of His disciples. Suffice it to say only what concerns us here: that no supposition of the persistence of this error in the apostolic age is necessary in order to account for the appearance of the two sets of predictions contained in the passage now before us. For this phenomenon abundant reasons have already been given.

Two of the three sources of difficulty in this passage have thus been removed. It now remains to cope with the particular difficulties presented by certain transitional verses whose reference to one or the other event is more or less obscure.

(C) SPECIAL DIFFICULTIES IN TRANSITION.

The task now before us is really involved in a larger one, namely, the division of the whole passage according to the scheme already indicated. For it is obvious that in case of a statement whose reference is ambiguous, the reasons advanced for placing it in either connection must rest largely upon principles governing the exegesis of the whole passage. The chief of these principles—the key furnished by contrary characteristics of the two events predicted—has already been noticed, and will be followed as the main basis of division throughout.

A second principle, though greatly subordinate in importance to

³⁵ Vid. *inf.* pages 23, 35.

³⁶ Matt. xxiv., 3: "Tell us, when shall these things (i. e., the destruction of the Temple) be, and what shall be the sign of Thy coming, and of the consummation of the world?"

the first, and by no means so frequently in demand, appears in the style of the discourse, which is preëminently that employed in the writings of the prophets. Not only are many figures borrowed from this source, but the whole passage abounds in citations, more or less direct, of the prophetic books of the Old Testament. The value of this consideration will not merely appear in the one or two references which may throw light upon some particular exegesis. Applied to the passage as a whole, it accounts for the mingling of two predictions, not at haphazard, but in the form of an extended parallel already hinted at—a device by no means uncommon to the prophets of Israel.

We shall therefore subject the whole passage to the analysis which lies at the basis of the suggested division, endeavoring to point out the difficulties as they may occur and to solve them in the light of the principles already stated.

(1) The Introductory Question.

The introductory section simply narrates Jesus' first prediction of the ruin of the temple and the request of His disciples for a more explicit account of its time and circumstances. Israel was at peace under the yoke of Rome, and, though always somewhat restless, was now fairly well governed and prosperous. The magnificent temple itself was a monument to one who had wielded His power under the favor of the Cæsars. Nothing save national independence now seemed wanting to complete Israel's glory and establish its peace. Hence the astonishment created in the minds of the disciples by the prediction of a complete and final overthrow, at a moment when no sign of its approach could be discerned.

All of the Synoptists record a twofold question: "When shall these things be?" and "What shall be the sign?" Matthew alone reveals to us an inference which the disciples had naturally drawn: that the fall of the ancient covenant must involve the end of all things. Here the second question is, "What shall be the sign of Thy coming and of the consummation of the world?"

(2) The First Paragraph.

Jesus now addresses Himself to the answering of this twofold question in so far as the revelation befits His purpose and the comprehension of His disciples. The first paragraph, as already noted, enumerates certain trials which will precede the downfall of Jerusalem. The primary purpose in this section is to prepare the disciples to endure those trials in the patience and confidence of a certain faith.

They are not to suppose that Judaism will come to its end suddenly and without an intervening period of gradual dissolution. After His departure false Messiahs will arise and will gain followers. Civil strife⁸⁷ will rage; social calamities and even natural convulsions will be reported from various quarters of the world. Thus are foretold the miseries which, according to Josephus and others, accumulated to such a fearful degree in Palestine itself shortly before the fall of the city. But "before all these things," and therefore soon after the Master's departure, the disciples will have to bear the harder trial of rejection. They shall answer for their faith, first in the synagogues⁸⁸ of their own people, then "before governors and kings," until, in the days of Nero, they will "be hated of all the nations." Apostasies and treacherous betrayals will result within the very body of the faithful, nay, within families themselves. The "false prophets" of heresy, too, will begin to show themselves during this period, and will meet with only too much success. But the disciples are not to be "troubled," that is, shaken in their faith, by all this; the Church and her mission not only will not perish from the earth, but the individual who holds fast his faith "to the end" of his personal struggle shall prove its saving power to his own eternal satisfaction.

Thus the main theme of this section demands its assignment as a whole to the destruction of the old dispensation. Running parallel with this, however, there is a subordinate theme which is never lost sight of; a series of cautions calculated, when the words should afterwards be recalled in the light of a clearer knowledge, to prevent the confusion of the two ideas which had been identified in the disciples' question. The calamities described are signs that the faithless people of God's first choice are hastening to their merited destruction; but this by no means indicates that the new dispensation is about to perish with the old in one general judgment of the world. Against this misconception of the Church's future the disciples are repeatedly cautioned. The apostle may perish, but his cause will not perish with him. The false Messiahs are not to be credited in teaching that "the time is at hand." "These things" of which the disciples had asked "must come to pass; but the end" of which they had also asked "is not yet." For "all these are the beginnings of birth-pangs."⁸⁹ The Synagogue may perish in bring-

⁸⁷ For this meaning of "nation against nation, and kingdom against kingdom," cf. Isa. xix., 2, apparently cited here; also the phrase "house upon house," Luke xi., 15—"a house against itself."

⁸⁸ So Mark and Luke in loc.—a statement which could not possibly be verified after the destruction of Jerusalem.

⁸⁹ Matt., Mark, in loc. This word, frequently used in the writings of the prophets (cf. Isa. xlii., 8; Jer. vi., 24; xlii., 21; et al.), has here, as usually, its full figurative force, and strongly implies a reference to Mich. iv., 7-13, esp. 10.

ing forth the Church, but the latter has her future still before her. For, notwithstanding every obstacle, "this Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in the whole world, for a testimony to all nations." Not until this has been done "shall the consummation come."

This last statement refers, it is true, to the Parousia, but only to distinguish that event from the judgment of Israel. It is true that Matthew's expression "the whole world" in the original⁴⁰ can as it stands be restricted to the civilized world as then known, namely, the Roman Empire, the greater part of which had heard the preaching of the Gospel before Jerusalem fell. But Matthew's use of this phrase is not unqualified. He adds that this universal proclamation is to serve "for a testimony to all (the) nations,"⁴¹ that is, "all the Gentiles," precisely as contrasted with the Jews. It is therefore evident that he indicates the same period as that of which Luke says, in a later section, "Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles, until the times of the nations be fulfilled."⁴²

Here, then, recurring again and again throughout this section, is a practical caution to which evident importance is attached—a warning to the disciples not to fall into the very error which the "eschatological" school of rationalism would attribute to the mind of the speaker himself! It is difficult to conceive how he could more explicitly have stated that the new covenant was to outlive the old; that the death of the old would be but the birth of the new; that ages of probation must pass before the world as a whole should stand condemned, as Israel already did, of having rejected its own salvation.

(3) *The Second Paragraph.*

Continuing the theme of the fall of Judaism, Jesus now passes from the trials and calamities foreshadowing that event to the event itself. The investment of Jerusalem by the armies of Titus will be the beginning of the end. Flight must, then, be hasty and unprepared for those who have failed to read the former signs and to save themselves (as the Christians of Jerusalem actually did) while there was time for a more leisurely escape. Now there will be no time for the collection of personal property, even the most necessary. Fortunate shall he be who is unencumbered and swift of flight. Neither the severities of the climate nor the rigors of the law will be abated in favor of the unlucky fugitives. Even the pity which all humanity shows towards a woman with child cannot, then,

⁴⁰ Matt. xxiv., 14.

⁴¹ Matt. xxiv., 14.

⁴² Luke xxi., 24

be expected. For mercy's day is past; "these are the days of vengeance."

(4) *The Third Paragraph.*

In the assignment of the next two verses we encounter our first real difficulty. Luke having transferred the whole section to another context,⁴³ we must depend upon Matthew and Mark. With the exception of the first two verses, the section as a whole presents no difficulty. It speaks in unmistakable terms of an age of affliction preceding another and a greater catastrophe than that of Jerusalem. Again arise false Christs, again false prophets; and now their message is confirmed by signs which seem to exceed the powers of nature. Only the elect, whose faith rests upon the firm foundation of an infallible guidance, will be safe from deception. But these already know all that has been "foretold." They know that they are apt not now to look for a coming which is "here" or "there," for a Christ Who must be sought out in the solitudes of nature or in the secrecy of human habitation. The only coming they have now to expect is one which shall overspread the universal realm of human vision as the lightning-flash illumines the whole sky. Evidently the theme has now changed to the Parousia, or rather to the days of great trial which are to come before it.

But to which event are we to assign the two verses in question—the twenty-first and twenty-second of Matthew's version, the nineteenth and twentieth of Mark's? This unannounced change in the subject of the discourse seems abrupt enough in any case; but where does the transition take place? Even the Fathers of the Church are divided in opinion here. At first sight we should say that the prediction of the "great tribulation" continues the theme of Jerusalem's fall. Both the evangelists seem to connect it closely with the preceding verse by using the conjunction "for," as if giving additional reasons for fleeing from the doomed city. Matthew, moreover, says that the tribulation shall be "then;" Mark, "in those days." Both speak of them as unparalleled in human experience; and Josephus' account of the last days of Jerusalem, with their wild carnival of every conceivable form of horror and despair, seems an all but literal fulfillment of such a prediction.

But the Master's words in this context breathe an atmosphere of solemnity and precision which seems to preclude hyperbole. He speaks of a period of affliction so general in its extent, so crushing in its severity, that neither "from the beginning of the creation which God created" has anything like it occurred, nor shall anything comparable to it occur again. Of what could this be true ex-

⁴³ Vld. sup. note 34.

cept of the great final sifting of the human race, for which ages of abundant grace will have prepared the way, and which will prove on the one hand the power of that grace in those who live thereby, and on the other the supreme sin of its rejection? So great will be the calamities of this age, that were the powers of evil permitted to pursue their course unchecked, "no flesh" could emerge from the ordeal untainted by surrender; but for the sake of His elect, God will intervene. It is difficult to verify either of these statements in the destruction of Jerusalem. Those days were not shortened; the grim tragedy was acted out to the end. Forty thousand Jews, it is true, are said to have escaped death; but none of these could be called "the elect" when the Christians were already safe in Pella; and had every inhabitant of Jerusalem actually perished, the statement that "no flesh should be saved" would be restricted to a merely relative verification which ill accords with the tone of the context.

In the second place, though the evidence is by no means conclusive in itself, it is at least noteworthy that the passage in Daniel's prophecy,⁴⁴ which is cited in the first of these two verses, is one of the very few in the Old Testament which clearly refer to the last judgment.

Thirdly, it is quite true that the conjunction "for" and the adverbs "then" and "in those days," with their apparent reference to the preceding theme, are difficult to account for in the light of this arrangement. But, on the other hand, if these two transitional verses be assigned to the fall of Jerusalem, not one, but two such difficulties arise. The first of them appears in the beginning of the next paragraph, whose reference to the Parousia is beyond question. There we are told that the Parousia will occur "immediately after the tribulation of those days," evidently referring to the trials last mentioned and not to those preceding the fall of Jerusalem. (This phrase will require some special attention in its proper place.) Nor does this statement necessarily conflict with what has been said above, to the effect that no series of prior events can serve as a sign of the nearness of the final coming. Its suddenness and the rapidity and finality of the accompanying judgment will render valueless any preparation which does not endure to the very moment of decision; and moreover, if "those days shall be shortened" the Parousia will doubtless interrupt "the great tribulation" midway in its natural course and thus be all the more sudden and unexpected.

Again, if the two verses under discussion be referred to the fall of Jerusalem another express connection must be broken. For they are immediately followed by the words: "*Then* if any man shall say

⁴⁴ Daniel xii., 1, 2.

to you, Lo, here is Christ or there, do not believe him." The connection here is not only grammatical, but logical. At a time when even the faithful are to be tried to the utmost of their power of endurance there is especial danger of their embracing a false and substitute Christianity in the form of some system of compromise acceptable to the powers of the world. It is "then" that the appeal of Anti-Christ must be most clearly discerned and most positively rejected by all who would be "worthy to stand before the Son of man."

From these considerations, it seems reasonable to begin the third paragraph of Jesus' discourse with the first of the two verses in question, referring them both to the final period of great trial. The force of the initial "for" is not an insuperable obstacle, considering the abhorrence of the Greek idiom for abrupt and unintroduced discourse, in preference to which even such a particle might possibly indicate a general and loose connection rather than an exact causal sequence.

(5) The Fourth Paragraph.

The opening words of this section, in the versions of Matthew and Mark, may at first sight appear to increase our difficulties. Mark begins with what seems a strongly adversative phrase—"But in those days, after that tribulation"—as if returning to a former theme after some parenthetical interruption. Matthew begins: "And immediately after the tribulation of those days." The apparently abrupt transition in Mark and the qualification, by both evangelists, of the "tribulation" in question by the demonstratives "that" and "those," rather than "this" and "these"—such features of the style might appear to recall not the period of affliction just alluded to, but that other described so minutely and vividly in the first and second paragraphs as incidental to the judgment of the old dispensation. Or, again, these opening words may seem to insinuate the real identity of the two periods of trial, thus at one stroke evading the objection of a too remote reference and also tending to revive and accentuate the difficulty of the two introductory verses in the paragraph last treated. Could this be reasonably established, the argument of our adversaries would be greatly strengthened, since Jesus would seem to have expected the Parousia to follow close upon the fall of Jerusalem.

But even if all the positive reasons already adduced against this view could be ignored, the difficulty as it stands would be but specious. The apparent transitional force of Matthew's and Mark's initial phrases here is not a whit too strong for the introduction of the some solemn theme in the whole discourse; whereas, it is far

from being strong enough to suggest a backward leap over the whole preceding section to a connection with something lying still further in the rear. That two distinct periods of "tribulation" have been predicted is abundantly clear from the contrast of some of their characteristic features. To make the present section begin with a reference to the first of these periods is utterly to violate its natural and obvious connection with the second.

If this difficulty is not a real one, much less can there be any reasonable question about the reference of the words which follow. Suddenly and without warning the whole natural order undergoes a series of inexplicable convulsions, as though the physical universe itself were in the throes of dissolution. Immediately the Son of man appears, not merely in the public defeat of His enemies, but in a visible glorification of His own proper person, even as Daniel's vision⁴⁵ had once depicted Him, "coming in the clouds of heaven, with much power and majesty." Every eye sees and recognizes Him. By His power His messengers assemble all the children of men in a concourse so universal and searching that not a corner of the earth can serve as a refuge for any who would fain escape the coming scrutiny. It is needless to say that, whatever allowance may be made for figurative language, the obviously literal portions of this section are applicable to no other event than the Parousia.

(6) *The Fifth Paragraph.*

Although this passage, containing the parable of the fig-tree, follows close upon the last, it is evident that it introduces a change in the theme of the discourse. The two events predicted have already been described in their logical order—first, the nearer in time, then the more remote. Each of them, moreover, has been treated according to a definite process, the moral preparation for the event being first described, and then the event itself. The historical facts of both events having been thus set forth, it is now time for their moral application. It is therefore but natural that the practical conclusions from the two should follow the same order as that of the main body of the discourse.

First, then, in the present section comes the lesson to be drawn from what has been said of the destruction of the old dispensation. This lesson is that that destruction will surely come, and will come while yet the Church is in her infancy. The years immediately following the departure of Jesus may find the great body of the Jews still unmoved in their rejection of His mission. But that mission will triumph. The old order, from which the divine authority has departed, will fall in ruins upon its self-willed votaries. And when

⁴⁵ Daniel vii., 13.

the storm of calamity and persecution begins, the faithful ones of Christ may read its lesson with a confidence as implicit as that which sees the promise of summer in the budding leaves of spring. Then must the Church begin to enlarge her borders and enter with all her zeal upon the wider sphere of activity opening before her. For even within that same generation which condemned her Master to death, her cradle, the ancient city of God, shall be no more, and she shall find herself "as needy, yet enriching many; as having nothing, and possessing all things"—the divinely appointed teacher and guide, no longer of a single nation, but of all nations and all times to be.

The only suggestion of difficulty in this passage arises from the fact that Jesus twice makes reference to "all these things," as though alluding to the section just preceding. Whether or not in His actual conversation some gesture or sign may have made the reference of the pronoun clear to His hearers, we have no means of knowing. It is certain, however, that if "these things" which are to be fulfilled before "this generation shall pass away,"⁴⁶ are, as our opponents would have it, the events of the Parousia, the result is an inextricable tangle, induced in defiance of every positive principle hitherto established for the exegesis of this discourse, and resting upon no positive ground of its own excepting the apparent reference of a demonstrative.

If the contrary reference be not sufficiently established by the main principles hitherto followed, two additional facts may be worthy of observation. The first is, that Jesus in the words "all these things" is actually reproducing the very phrase of His interrogators. It was with precise reference to His prediction of the destruction of the temple that they had asked: "When shall these things be, and what shall be the sign when *all these things* shall begin to be fulfilled?" The natural presumption is that, in returning now to their original words, He is speaking of the matter to which those words had reference. That He is speaking of some event of which other events will be a most certain sign is evident from His words. That such event is not His final coming to judge the world is equally evident from the sudden and unannounced character which, throughout the whole discourse, has been consistently attributed to the Parousia.

Secondly, it may not be irrelevant to consider more in particular

⁴⁶ Although it is true that *genea*, even when thus modified (cf. Luke vii., 31), may mean "race" or "stock" as well as "period" or "age," yet to interpret the present context "this (human) race shall not pass, till all these things be done," would be to make the prediction both superfluous in itself and also meaningless to determine the time of a sign with respect to its fulfillment.

here a fact already hinted at in the beginning of our analysis⁴⁷—that the literary style of the whole discourse is prophetic and apocalyptic. A few of its many verbal references to the Old Testament have been noted in passing. But similarity of diction is not all: we have an equal right to expect a similar structural order in the arrangement of the matter. Whether this latter device should be attributed to the discourse of Jesus as originally delivered or to His evangelical recorders, does not matter, since, other things being equal, either speaker or writers would be equally likely to adopt the form of literary structure commonly employed in prophetic discourse. Of this form, as already stated, one of the peculiar characteristics consists in an extended parallelism of balanced themes. Now it has already been shown that the first four paragraphs, when distinguished in the simplest manner by their respective central themes, actually exhibit this arrangement. They fall naturally into two groups, of which the first pair treats of the fall of Jerusalem, the second of the Parousia. There still remain two paragraphs (the fifth and sixth) which turn from description to practical admonition. That the sixth undoubtedly refers to the Parousia will appear in due course. If, therefore, the fifth paragraph, now under discussion, does not refer to the fall of Jerusalem—if that particular series of calamities is not what is intended by “all these things”—a parallel arrangement, maintained throughout this long discourse with evident deliberation, must utterly fail here, and here only.

(7) The Sixth Paragraph.

While the apparent close connection, in Matthew's and Mark's versions,⁴⁸ and even more in Luke's, between the fifth section and the opening words of the sixth, offers some obstacle to the placing of the transition at this point, the difficulty is only apparent. For although the opening verse of Matthew could be detached from what follows and connected with what precedes it, the parallel verse in Mark is immediately followed by a manifest deduction from its teaching; whereas, Luke's opening verse, which plunges at once into the heart of the theme, is instantly followed by a reason appropriate only to the nature of the Parousia. Moreover, in both Matthew and Mark there is at the very outset an implied contrast between “these things” and “that day,” indicated by two demonstratives which, when thus closely associated, are as strongly opposed in reference as the English “this” and “that.”

⁴⁷ Vid. sup. pages 22, 23.

⁴⁸ The word translated “but” in both evangelists is not the strong adversative “alla,” but the less definite “de.”

All three evangelists in this section return for the last time to the subject of the Parousia, and draw from it one and the same moral lesson. It is the lesson of perpetual watchfulness and preparation. So far off is this great event from the days of Christ's ministry in the flesh, that even His own may forget His warning in their absorption in the pleasures or the cares of this world. Once before the earth, in spite of divine warning, was a scene of thoughtless revelry, when judgment suddenly descended and swept the race away, sparing only the faithful remnant who had heeded the warning. History will repeat itself once again upon the unbelieving world at large; let the faithful beware lest they share its fate. For "of that day and hour no one knoweth;" as a thief at night and "as a snare shall it come upon all that sit upon the face of the whole earth." The faithful shall have no more warning of its imminence than others; their only pledge of salvation lies in an attitude of continual readiness and expectation.

(8) *Conclusions.*

Looking back over the whole of this remarkable discourse, what do we find to be its value as a rationalistic weapon against the inerrancy of Jesus of Nazareth? It is clear beyond question that He is here recorded as treating of two distinct events. As regards their apparent confusion, the fact that the first event in order of time is a **natural type of the second; that the question** which elicited the discourse included a reference to both events; that the same moral lessons of faith against the world, patience in persecution, confidence in the truth and power of God and in the ultimate triumph of His cause, are natural deductions from both; above all, perhaps, the fact that the early fulfilment of the first event would be an earnest of the verification of the second, however long deferred—all these are more than abundant reasons for the intermingling of the two in one context. The fact, on the other hand, that Jesus not only attributes, with perfect consistency, contrary attributes to the two events, but that He begins His whole discourse with repeated cautions against their confusion—this is not merely evidence, but actual demonstration that no such confusion existed in His own mind.

With these basic principles as a guide in following the two threads throughout the whole passage, there is no occasion to go far astray in their identification. There is no difficulty in recognizing either theme where its **characteristic features dominate** the context. The only points of difficulty lie between such places, in contexts which are at first sight so ambiguous as to obscure the exact point of transition from theme to theme. In these cases, as we have seen,

the ambiguous passage raises difficulty in either connection, so that it must in any case be assigned in the manner which, all the elements having been considered, offers **least violence** to the context.

Taking the matter, then, as it stands, and without explaining away or minimizing, we contend that a fair and judicious view of this discourse as a whole cannot reasonably lead to the conclusion that it stands alone in the gospel record as a monument to Jesus' erroneous conception of His own mission and its destiny. We venture to say "alone," because the other three passages which are cited as sources of difficulty, although independent in context, are governed by the same didactic themes and purposes as this one, and are to be interpreted by the same principles. And the conclusion just expressed is the very least that can be said. Rather may it be confidently affirmed that Jesus Himself has proved His own defender against His critics, by uttering words which of themselves have refuted the accusation centuries in advance of its appearance.

It has been stated above⁴⁹ that the position of our adversaries rests principally upon four passages found in the Gospels. The third in order of these four has been treated first, not only because of its greater weight, but because its principles, once grasped, furnish all the clues required for the exegesis of the other three. The latter must now be examined in order.

II. THE FIRST PASSAGE.

As it stands, this extract is peculiar to Matthew's Gospel. Reproduced together with its introductory context, it is as follows (Mt. x.):

(16) Behold, I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves. Be ye therefore wise as serpents and simple as doves. (17) But beware of men. For they will deliver you up in councils, and they will scourge you in their synagogues. (18) And you shall be brought before governors, and before kings for My sake, for a testimony to them and to the Gentiles: (19) but when they shall deliver you up, take no thought how or what to speak: for it shall be given you in that hour what to speak. (20) For it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you. (21) The brother also shall deliver up the brother to death, and the father the son; and the children shall rise up against their parents, and shall put them to death. (22) And you shall be hated by all men for My name's sake: but he that shall persevere unto the end, he shall be saved. (23) And when they shall persecute you in this city, flee into another. Amen I say to you, you shall not finish all the cities of Israel, till the Son of man come.

The point of contention is furnished by the closing sentence. Here, we are told, Jesus explicitly asserts that He will appear in final judgment of the world before the preaching of His apostles shall have passed the boundaries of their own nation. Let us see whether such a meaning can be taken from His words.

He has chosen His twelve apostles and is about to give them their

⁴⁹ Vid. sup., pages 6, 7.

first introduction to their future ministry by sending them, still subject to His personal supervision, to preach and heal in His name. This first ministry is to be confined strictly to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel."⁵⁰ Minute instructions concerning their manner of life and conduct are given them. And then comes a warning suggested by the present occasion, though not to be fully verified until after the departure of Jesus and the coming of the Holy Ghost. The apostles must not in those days expect to find public opinion on their side; hence they must not now acquire the habit of committing themselves to its favor. In their future ministry to the Jews, they will be persecuted, and their message will be a cause of division even among families. When, however, that message is rejected in one locality, it must be promptly offered elsewhere. For the time allotted them for the evangelization of the chosen people is limited. They will not be able to do more than complete the circuit of Israel's own cities before the coming of their Master.

Whether or not this last prediction be capable of a twofold fulfillment, its more natural and immediate application must certainly be that which is in harmony with the context. With this standard as our criterion, there is simply no question that the whole period to which these instructions literally apply is limited by the last days of Judaism. The mission is to Israel alone. The persecutions will be instituted before the local rabbinical assemblies,⁵¹ and executed in the synagogues. Moreover, portions of this passage are identical with certain parts of the "Eschatological Gospel;" and in every such instance⁵² the theme of the latter is the rejection of the Church by the decadent Synagogue, not by the corrupted world. The whole context, then, excludes the extension of this apostolic mission to the time of the Parousia.

What, then, is this "coming of the Son of man" which is to leave the apostles so little time for their Palestinian mission? Evidently, it is the coming of His judgment upon that faithless nation. Even during His earthly life that coming is to begin; for where the word of His power is borne by His messengers, there the Son of man comes "in power." But the complete manifestation of His power will be seen later, though still within the life of His own generation. When the veil of the sanctuary is rent at His death, Israel may still ignore the signs of divine rejection; but when the sanctuary itself lies in ruins, at the very moment when the Name of Jesus "is great among the Gentiles, from the rising of the sun even to

⁵⁰ Verse 6.

⁵¹ Zunedria, verse 17.

⁵² Compare verses 17 and 18 with Matt. xxiv., 9; Mark xiii., 9; Luke xxi., 12; verses 19 and 20 with Mark xiii., 11; Luke xxi., 14, 15; verses 21 and 22 with Matt. xxiv., 9, 10, 13; Mark xiii., 12, 13; Luke xxi., 16-19.

the going down,"⁵³ there can no longer be any doubt that "Him hath God the Father sealed."⁵⁴ In the manifestation of a supernatural life such as Israel's never was, and yet which everywhere acknowledges the despised Nazarene as its only course, His enemies cannot but realize that "the Son of man is come," and that His cause, as opposed to Judaism, has completely triumphed.

That this "coming," though justly so called, was never in Jesus' mind or words confused with His ultimate Parousia requires no further proof. No prediction of the imminence of the latter event can, therefore, be justly wrested from this passage.

III. THE SECOND PASSAGE.

The next extract to be considered is common to the three Synoptists, and by them all is placed in the same context: between Peter's confession of Jesus as the Christ and the latter's transfiguration. The text in full follows:

Matthew xvi.

Mark viii.

Luke ix.

(24) Then Jesus said to his disciples: If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. (25) For he that will save his life, shall lose it: and he that shall lose his life for my sake, shall find it. (26) For what doth it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and suffer the loss of his own soul? Or what exchange shall a man give for his soul? (27) For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels: and then will he render to every man according to his works. (28) Amen I say to you, there are some of them that stand here, that shall not taste death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom.

(34) And calling the multitude together with his disciples, he said to them: If any man will follow me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. (35) For whosoever will save his life, shall lose it, and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel, shall save it. (36) For what shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and suffer the loss of his soul? (37) Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul? (38) For he that shall be ashamed of me, and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation: the Son of man also will be ashamed of him, when he shall come in the glory of his Father with the holy angels. (39) And he said to them: Amen I say to you, that there are some of them that stand here, who shall not taste death, till they see the kingdom of God coming in power.

(23) And he said to all: If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross daily, and follow me. (24) For whosoever will save his life, shall lose it; for he that shall lose his life for my sake, shall save it. (25) For what is a man advantaged, if he gain the whole world, and lose himself, and cast away himself? (26) For he that shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him the Son of man shall be ashamed, when he shall come in his majesty, and that of his Father, and of the holy angels. (27) But I tell you of a truth: There are some standing here, that shall not taste death, till they see the kingdom of God.

The difficulty of this passage is certainly more obvious than that of the section last examined. In all three evangelists, the last sentence but one speaks in the clearest terms of the Parousia, while

⁵³ Mal. i., 11.

⁵⁴ John vi., 27.

the concluding sentence seems to continue the same subject, and to affirm in the most solemn language that this same coming will take place while some of the listeners are yet in this mortal life. If the subject is not thus continued, the final verse would seem to be wholly isolated in theme, although following close upon an extended context whose subject-matter is at least very similar. Is it not evident, then, that at least in this place Jesus is represented as emphatically asserting the imminence of His final coming?

At first sight, such would seem to be the case. But let us look more closely. In the first place, the concluding verse is not so closely connected with what precedes it, if the apparent influence of the subject-matter be set aside. Matthew actually gives this verse no grammatical connection whatever with the preceding discourse—an utter violation of the Greek idiom, if the subject be not a new one. Mark goes farther, and formally marks a change of theme by the introductory words, "And He said to them"—words unqualified by any adverbial reference. Luke, though his "but" is only the weaker enclitic, permits his subject to decline from an explicit reference to the Parousia, to the merely general term "the kingdom of God," while Mark speaks of "the kingdom of God coming in power," and Matthew of "the Son of man coming in His kingdom"—all of them expressions which we have seen, in their eschatological use, often employed to denote the triumph of Christ's cause on earth, but nowhere His final revelation in the majesty of universal Judge.

In the second place, the mere appearance of a new theme—the triumph of the new dispensation over the old—in the same context with a prediction of the Parousia can no longer be of itself a source of difficulty, after what we have seen of the fact itself and of the abundant reasons for it. In general, the same bond of a common moral value must unite the two themes here as elsewhere, whether their appearance side by side in the pages of the Gospel be primarily due to Jesus Himself or to the evangelists.

But, in the third place, the context of this passage supplies a particular reason for referring this final verse alone to the early triumphs of the Church on earth. Following upon Peter's confession of faith had come the first announcement of the hard lesson of the cross, which Peter himself had been reproved for rejecting. Later the same lesson, now applied to the lot of the disciple, is administered to all within hearing. It is a matter of the supreme issues of life; of sacrificing everything to gain everything. The final confirmation of the choice, whether rightly or wrongly made, will come with Christ's final appearing in glory. But it may be hard for nature to maintain a continual warfare against itself in the

mere expectation of a far-off reward or the fear of a punishment as long deferred. Therefore the promise is confirmed. The cross shall triumph over the highest earthly standard of success. The Son of man shall come in the supernatural powers of His newly-founded kingdom; and, for their encouragement and conviction, some of His present hearers shall see this first coming with their mortal eyes, that they may confidently expect the last.

Thus, in the light of the same principles which have guided us all along, the difficulty disappears. Not only have we here no confusion, but the clearest logical sequence.

IV. THE FOURTH PASSAGE.

We now approach the last extract from the Gospels which is brought by our adversaries against the inerrancy of Jesus. It comprises a most solemn prediction uttered by Him at a trial before the Jewish authorities, placed by Matthew and Mark during the night which followed His arrest, and by Luke at the dawn of the following day. The text follows:

Matthew xxvi.

Mark xiv.

Luke xxii.

(63) But Jesus held his peace. And the high priest said to him: I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us if thou be the Christ the Son of God. (64) Jesus saith to him: Thou hast said it. Nevertheless I say to you, hereafter you shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the power of God, and coming in the clouds of heaven.

(61) But he held his peace and answered nothing. Again the high priest asked him, and said to him: Art thou the Christ the Son of the blessed God? (62) And Jesus said to him: I am. And you shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the power of God, and coming in the clouds of heaven.

(66) And as soon as it was day, the ancients of the people, and the chief priests, and scribes came together, and they brought him into their council, saying: If thou be the Christ, tell us. (67) And he said to them: If I shall tell you, you will not believe me. (68) And if I shall also ask you, you will not answer me, nor let me go. (69) But hereafter the Son of man shall be sitting on the right hand of the power of God. (70) Then said they all: Art thou then the Son of God? Who said: You say, that I am.

In this prediction, according to His modern critics, Jesus announced to His earthly judges that their mortal eyes shall behold His final coming in glory.

In the words "coming in the clouds of heaven" we can at least recognize a phrase which, throughout our whole discussion of this subject, has been consistently restricted to the Parousia. In this phrase, as also in the title "Son of man," Jesus appropriates to Himself the words in which Daniel recorded the description of His messianic vision. Neither expression could be mistaken by the judges. Their prisoner solemnly asserted Himself to be all that they understood by "the Christ, the Son of the blessed God."

But before predicting this manner of His coming, the Master uses an expression which is as yet new to us: "Ye shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the power of God." This particular language Daniel did not employ. Is it here used by Jesus, for the first time, to express an additional feature of His final glorification? If so, it was not likely to be understood by His enemies, familiar as they were with the words of Daniel—unless, indeed, as a paraphrase of the prophet's words:⁵⁵ "And He gave Him power, and glory, and a kingdom: and all peoples, tribes and tongues shall serve Him: His power is an everlasting power that shall not be taken away: and His kingdom, that shall not be destroyed."

And as such a paraphrase we understand these words. With their mortal eyes, indeed, the judges of Israel were to see the powers of the kingdom of grace. The exaltation of their victim to the right hand of God's power—that is, to its plenitude—though invisible in itself, would be really visible in its effects. And this visible glorification was to be "from now," in Matthew's phrase, or in Luke's, "from the present."⁵⁶ It was to be the beginning of that progressive glorification only to be consummated in His "coming in the clouds of heaven." And it is because His glorification is thus progressive and continuous, that the two distinct events, one of which marks its inception and the other its far-off consummation, are both alike placed here in the same relation of time expressed by the evangelists' "from the present."

Briefly, then, Jesus sums up in this solemn assertion the whole of His eschatology, as befits His last public utterance on the mysteries of the future. Both of His future advents are here predicted in one brief sentence. Identified they are not, for each is expressed in the exact terms by which it may be recognized and distinguished everywhere else in His teaching. There is no confusion in His language. Having declared His Messiahship in compliance with the solemn and official demand of the Synagogue, He proceeds to confirm it. From this very day the manifestation of His power shall begin. His judges, while still in this present life, shall see that power in its effects, and recognize in it, even against their will, that He possesses the fulness of divine authority. In the universal kingdom prophesied by Daniel they shall see "the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the power of God." And this new order, which is to begin "from the present," shall culminate ages hence, when once again His judges, now with the eyes of

⁵⁵ Daniel vii., 14.

⁵⁶ The expressions translated "hereafter" are, in Matthew "ap arti," in Luke "apo tou nun."

the risen body shall see their victim "coming in the clouds of heaven," and shall supplicate His mercy who now at their hands seeks in vain for common truth and justice.

In the marvelous history of His earthly kingdom through nineteen centuries, we recognize the fulfilment of the promise of His coming with power. In the confidence born of this fulfilment of His word, we await its consummation in His final appearance in supreme majesty. In both alike, we reverently confess the unsearchable depth of that unerring wisdom whose least assertion stands unshaken against the vain imaginations of the sons of men.

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OUTLINES OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE MYSTICAL LIFE.

MORTAL SIN IN THE LIGHT OF MYSTICISM.

THE existence of moral evil or sin is a fact which cannot be denied. In whatever light it may be viewed, or however one may try to account for it, one is compelled to admit that there are disordered actions of men, such, for instance, as murder, theft, perjury, adultery, intemperance, ungodliness—all arising from disordered affections, such as hatred, envy, lust, sloth, pride, etc. We meet with gross, palpable evidences of this evil everywhere around us, to say nothing of our personal experience of it in our own selves. Moreover, by natural implication and by the testimony of history, we know that it has been so throughout the past ages, going back from century to century to the very dawn of the history of the world. At this point divine revelation unveils before our eyes the head-spring of this ocean of human misery and guilt, in the original sin of our first-parents; and the same authority, furthermore, discloses the fact that even the sin of Adam and Eve was not the first link in the long chain, for this sin connects itself, by the temptation of the evil one, with his own sin and that of the other fallen angels when they raised the cry of rebellion against God in the paradise of their trial.

Sin is essentially a free deliberate act, contrary to right reason. The Psalmist asks this question: "Who can understand sin?" (Ps. xviii., 13). No one can understand sin in itself, because it is an absurdity, a monstrous absurdity, the act of a reasonable creature, and yet an act contrary to right reason. Therefore, on the face of it, it is an act of self-destruction, an obliterating of the likeness of God in one's self with one's own hands, a guilty returning to nothingness. Considered in the abstract—apart even from the incidental sufferings it entails on its perpetrator and on his victims, sufferings which are very grievous, as we shall see in the next chapter—sin is the greatest evil that can ever happen, for it is the evil of the spirit. It is a falling away from God, a wilful cutting off of communication with the spring of spiritual life, a throwing of one self headlong into a bottomless abyss, a suicidal act and at the same time an awful lie. Whilst the mystic says with the king-prophet: "It is good for me to adhere to God" (Ps. lxxii., 28), because indeed he has experienced it to be so, the sinner declares by his acts, if not by word of mouth: "It is good for me to turn away from God; it is good for me to adhere to created things instead of God; it is good for me, by falling back upon my-

self and things created, to return as far as in me lies into nothingness;" and all the while the event is giving him the lie. It is not good; it is very harmful for him to do these things.

There are two formidable aspects of sin. First, there is the evil done to God, inasmuch as sin is an attack upon Him, an offense against His sanctity and love, an infringement upon His absolute sovereign rights. There is at the same time the evil done to the reasonable creature, in that sin separates him from God, Who is his very life, and precipitates him into a depth of degradation and misery proportionate to the height of glory and happiness to which God has predestined him.

The original mistake of the sinner is that, for the gratification of his passions, he practically refers everything to himself. For this unworthy end he employs the noble faculties of his body and soul, which were given him as so many instruments for the exclusive service of God. He moreover lays guilty hands upon the creatures, animate and inanimate, of this natural universe, all of which are God's property, and he reduces them to an unjust captivity, making use of them, in spite of their groaning, for his own nefarious purposes against the will of God and against God, who created him and them for a noble end. But the height of injustice and folly is reached when the unfortunate sinner damns himself in this world and in the next by misusing his fellow-men, even his own flesh and blood, a wife or children, subordinates or friends, dragging all along with him into sin.

For this egotist the whole universe of things created and uncreated is but a vast circumference, of which he constitutes himself the centre. He refers and subordinates everything to his own self, even God, since he would have Him to yield to his puny will. Now God cannot acquiesce in such a monstrous overthrow of His inalienable sovereign rights. The sweetness and harmony of order demand that everything be referred to God and subordinated to Him; the more so that God has in view the procuring of His own glory by means of our happiness. Could anything be more desirable? The sinner, on the other hand, proposes to himself and to all he can press into his service, his own glory instead of that of God, his own will instead of that of God, at the cost of his own happiness, both temporal and eternal, and at the cost of the precious souls of those he scandalizes. Could anything be thought of more criminal and idiotic?

Now, though he may, through want of faith or through inadvertence, be all unconscious of the fact, the terrible truth is that the centre around which the sinner really gravitates and to which he is attracted and to which he tends by the sheer weight of his

guilt, is the hell of the damned. It is an article of faith that were he to die suddenly, **unrepentant**, as suddenly would he fall into the pit of hell, just as a stone, held above water, falls and is engulfed in the water the instant it is released and abandoned to its natural attraction. The sinner would not have God, and out of God there is no future place for the reasonable creature guilty of such a crime but the eternal prison of hell.

In this regard there is no difference between him who is guilty of but one mortal sin and the man who is guilty of a multitude; they both belong to hell, though they are not in it as yet. The very moment that the sinner achieves his severance from God, his name is blotted out of the book of life and inscribed on the rolls of hell. By right he now belongs to hell as much as the lost souls themselves, though it is yet in his power, with the grace of God, if he will accept it, to cancel the terrible indenture.

The difference between sinner and sinner on earth, as also between reprobate and reprobate in hell, lies in the respective amount of guilt each one has incurred and the special punishment meted out to him in consequence. We might say it lies radically in the degree of rottenness and filthiness to which each one has descended. A man just dead is as dead as one who died yesterday, or a week ago, or a month ago, or six months ago; but he is not yet such an object of horror as these latter; so the sinner who is guilty of but one mortal sin is as absolutely dead to the life of grace as he who is laden with a thousand mortal sins, but this latter is a greater object of the reprobation of God and of His vindictive justice.

This may serve to explain the warning of our Lord to the sinner in the Apocalypse iii., 1-2: "I know that thou hast the name of being alive, and thou art dead. Be watchful and strengthen the things that remain, which are ready to die." In the unfortunate Christian who has lost charity by but one mortal sin there survive usually, first, the theological virtue of hope, then that of faith; formless, both of them, it is true (Latin *informes*), but still able even as such to prevent a greater ruin and to become somehow principles of spiritual resurrection. There survive, moreover, all the acquired moral virtues, and finally, at times, a certain lingering shadow of the spirit of prayer. There may even perchance be found in that soul a certain imitation of charity—a dangerous survival of the former state, because, says S. Francis of Sales ("Love of God,") it serves but to deceive the wretched sinner and keep him in illusion as to his real state. *The things that remain which are ready to die*, of which our Lord speaks, are therefore the formless theological virtues of hope and faith and the acquired moral virtues. The infused moral virtues which are as the suite and the

handmaidens of charity are struck dead the same moment as their queen.

The theological virtue of hope, rendered formless by mortal sin, may at last perish altogether, by the repetition or multiplication of criminal acts. There will come a moment when the soul will pass almost without transition from the height of presumption to the depths of despair. The yoke of sin grows heavier and heavier, the evil habits, like so many iron chains, become firmly riveted to the soul, and all prospect of deliverance is shut out of sight. Then the wretched sinner falls into discouragement, and drifting at the mercy of circumstances, is a ready prey to the most violent and sudden transports of passion, after which he is haunted by temptations of despair or even of suicide.

Christian hope being dead, faith may still survive, formless, and further weakened by the sad fate of hope; how very ailing, how severely shaken, is shown by its occasional fainting-fits, so to speak, or, to use another metaphor, by the partial and more or less prolonged eclipses of its light. Still, even such a weak and fitful light is better than absolute darkness, and it may help the soul to avoid the worst pitfalls, and even direct its first steps towards a return to God.

The worst state of all is arrived at when faith itself has finally been put out, either by the sinner's committing certain particularly heinous crimes or a deliberate intention on his part to extinguish its persistant flickering. However, do what he will, the light which he received in baptism, the indelible character or sign which marked him a Christian, is never totally done away with, but from time to time from its dying embers sparks and flames spring up unexpectedly, which are the last appeals of God to the soul bent obstinately upon its own destruction.

To conclude, we may say that in the moral order there are two great centres of attraction, and only two—God, the loving God, and Hell, the Hell of the damned. All reasonable creatures, whether *in via* or *in termino*, converge towards one or other of these centres; attracted to the one by the mysterious force of charity, or to the other by that other force, the antithesis of charity, which is sin, habitual sin; for actual sin becomes habitual if it is not at once repented of and abolished by a good confession or an act of perfect contrition. Those *in termino*, both angels and the souls of the dead, are not only attracted to their centre, whichever this happens to be, but they are bound to it for ever. Souls which are yet *in via* have it in their power to wrench themselves from the one and transfer themselves to the other. All, whether *in termino* or *in via*, gravitate towards their centre of attraction, with a force propor-

tionate to their attraction to charity or sin respectively. The tepid Christian himself, just as the mystic of all degrees or the sinner of all shades, is also actually gravitating towards one of the two spheres of attraction—that of the God of love or that whose focus is the hell of the damned. Only when he happens to be gravitating towards the natural centre of charity, God, by not being actually in the state of mortal sin, still he keeps himself at such an enormous distance from this centre that he cannot be warmed nor illumined by its rays, and, being hardly conscious of the force that draws him, he obeys its attraction but sluggishly. He is so very near to the confines of the sphere whose centre of attraction is sin that it is not to be wondered at if he be suddenly whirled out of his former orbit and tossed into this one, to become one of those “wandering stars” of which St. Jude speaks, “to whom the storm of darkness is reserved for ever.” (Jud. i., 13). Oh! may the loving God preserve us from such a terrible fate!

THE HARD WAYS OF SIN.

“My people have done two evils: they have forsaken me, the fountain of living water, and have digged to themselves cisterns, broken cisterns that can hold no water.”—Jerem.

The keynote of mystical life is joy—a joy deep and pure, but hidden from the eyes of men; it does not preclude severe sufferings, both mental and physical; these will ever be the part of the pilgrim sojourning in this land of exile. After their severe flagellations in the presence of the council of their nation the Apostles “went away rejoicing, for that they were accounted worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Jesus.” (Acts v., 41). “I am filled with comfort,” says St. Paul, “I exceedingly abound with joy in all our tribulations.” (II. Cor. vii., 4.) The keynote of a sinful life, on the other hand, is sadness; but a secret sadness, which eats its way relentlessly into the very heart of the sinner, and though perforce this he concealed from the world, yet, in spite of every effort, it will often manifest itself. How could it be otherwise with one who chooses to make himself the enemy of God, and of his better self, and of his fellow-men?

It is certainly a merciful dispensation by which sin always brings its own chastisement, even in this world—the poor sinner may take heed and at least escape eternal punishment. It is a law of the universe that every disorder brings uneasiness. A broken limb, a dislocated bone, will cause an agony of suffering until it is properly set. Now sin is the greatest of disorders, a moral disorder, causing uneasiness to the spirit even of angel or man; but very often with

men it is also at the same time a physical and material disorder, bringing material and physical pain.

Let us glance rapidly at some of the sufferings, moral and physical, which are to be found in the trail of sin. First of all, remorse. This is the skeleton in the cupboard, not at all a comfortable companion for the diseased mind. The sinner tries to forget it; he never succeeds completely. Then the fear of disclosure, and the confusion when one is discovered and becomes an object of reprobation to all right-minded persons, and even to the wicked and hypocritical, by whom, mayhap, the temptation and sin were caused. Very often bitter disappointment, disgust and nausea; for the object which promised to give satisfaction and enjoyment has turned out to be a veritable apple of Sodom, alluring in appearance, but changing to ashes and sulphur in the mouth. Loss of health, the squandering of fortune, exasperating recriminations, bitter regrets, burning reproaches—all these come as a matter of course. And the distressing, maddening question which cannot but rise in the mind: How will all this end? It may be silenced for a while, but it rises again, importunate and persistent. The wretched sinner wrings his hands, turns his head away and feigns not to hear.

And now, if the sinner remains obdurate, refusing to return like the prodigal to God, his Heavenly Father, by true repentance and amendment of life, a new series of alarming symptoms will begin to manifest themselves. These are: 1. Deformation of the conscience. Though it is hard to kick against the goad and to sin with open eyes yet, at this point, the sinner tries to persuade himself that black is white and white is black. 2. Spiritual blindness. An infatuation with the object of his passion now takes possession of the sinner, so that he cannot see anything else that matters in the whole world. 3. A weakening of the queen-faculty, the will. Resisting power becomes nil and the soul is ready for every sort of abdication. 4. A hardening of the heart. Here sin is loved for its own sake; the sinner refuses to be released from his evil, resolved to pursue his course withersoever it may lead him. 5. A lowering of the character to untold depths. Probity, sincerity, self-respect, natural affections, consideration for others, regard for public decency—all go by the board. 6. A monstrous perversion of the natural appetites, unbridled licentiousness of the imagination, overpowering, well nigh irresistible tyranny of the senses, a thorough disorganization of the whole being, body and soul. 7. Terrible, shameful diseases, leading to the very verge of folly and despair. 8. The horrible fear of stealthily approaching death and of what lies beyond. There is none who fears death like the sinner; his all in all is in and of this world; is it surprising that he should tremble

at the very thought of judgment? Then the probable transmission of the accursed germs of disease and vice to an innocent offspring.

Is this an overcharged picture? Any one acquainted with the world will be able to point out hundreds of cases not one whit less terrible than this.

Finally, there will be the posthumous effects of sin, that is to say, a whole evil brood of sins, which, after the sinner's death, may spring up from the scandals he caused during life. These may go on spreading and perpetuating and propagating without limit or end till the very day of judgment. Then will all these evils be attributed to the sinner who fathered them, and demand will be made for a revision of his account with the Divine Justice and for a proportionate aggravation of his eternal punishment.

And all along during his wretched life on earth to all the self-inflicted chastisement of the sinner was added the uneasiness arising from the fear of God—not a holy fear, like that of the true children of God, who are in dread lest they offend their Heavenly Father, and incur His displeasure and lose Him; but an abject fear, a fear which makes the sinner shun God and look upon Him as an enemy. Adam, in order to taste freely of the forbidden fruit, put away his habit of the filial, holy fear of God, and on eating of the forbidden fruit, was immediately seized with the abject fear of God. Henceforth, he shuns God, he avoids meeting Him as heretofore, he hides from Him in the woods with his guilty consort, and when perforce he must face his offended Creator and Benefactor, he becomes impudent, which is another way of running away from God. He says: "The woman thou gavest me tempted me," as much as to say: "I am not the one to blame; she is. Nay, if we look well into it, Thou, my God, Thou Who gavest her to me, Thou art the One to blame."

Does not every sinner in a way conduct himself like Adam and blame God for his own evil deeds? Look at the typical modern man of the world; he entertains no holy fear of God—not he; he is above that; he can drink in sin like water. Nevertheless, he has at the same time a horrible dread of God. He cannot bear the thought of Him. The bare mention of His Holy Name is enough to throw that man into a frenzy. For months and years at a time he will not set foot in a church; and when forced to do so by worldly conventionality, to attend a wedding, for instance, or the funeral of a friend, or for some civic demonstration, he does so with a shudder, as is plainly shown by his whole attitude. He flies, I say; he flies in abject terror from before the face of God; he flies with a flight which very soon may be eternal. And all along

he blames God, the loving God, the Holy One, not himself, for his own wickedness. The literature of the day in all its branches, high and low, refined and coarse, light and learned, is saturated with this sort of blasphemy. But it is not convincing, it is not reassuring, and the louder the voice which gives expression to these horrors, the more evident becomes the abject fear of God by which those who cry out are tormented.

It is fear, even an abject fear? Nay, it is something worse, much worse; it is hatred, positive hatred of God, of which the habitual sinner becomes at last possessed. Of course, the beginner in the ways of sin does not arrive all at once at such an extremity as this. He comes to it little by little, but he comes to it in the end to actually hating the good God Who made him, and the loving Saviour Who died for him on the Cross. Because God forbids sin and punishes it terribly even in this world and threatens an eternal, fearful punishment of it in the next, the sinner is brought step by step to hate with a positive and explicit hatred the sanctity of God, His justice, His infinite perfections, His very Being. This is indeed one of the hard ways of sin. "We have wearied ourselves in the ways of iniquity and destruction and have walked through hard ways." Thus the reprobates in the Book of Wisdom v., 7.

These, then, are the hard ways of sin. When we tell the foolish youth bent upon taking a large bite of forbidden fruit that sin hurts, he will not believe it. He argues with himself that these tales of woe are inventions of priests, good at most to frighten little children with. He persuades himself that he at least will not feel the worse for quaffing a generous draught at the cup of pleasure; that he will know when to stop, and that even if he gets a touch of fever in consequence, he will soon be well again. Poor fool! How many such are to be seen, terribly caught indeed, and they are forced at last to cry out that sin does indeed hurt.

When, by a very signal mercy of God, the sinner is given the grace to desire to retrace his footsteps and return to a saintly life, he is confronted with really appalling difficulties. To mention at present but one, among many, there is literally "the devil to pay." The devil holds him and will not let him go. The devil has bought his soul; the sinner sold it to him, very cheap, it is true, and he has been cheated into the bargain, but still the devil has his bond. He has taken his assurances. He holds a mortgage on the brain, another on the will-power, another on the imagination, another on the senses, still another on the nerves of the sinner. Oh! how hard it is to wrench oneself free from the devil's clutches! But it must be done. It must be done at all costs. It is a question of life and death, and of life and death eternal; and the longer the delay in

the great and desperate effort towards the liberty of the children of God, the more the devil rivets his chains and weighs down the soul of the poor sinner with his fetters.

THE PRODIGAL'S RETURN.

It may at first sight seem impossible for a poor sinner, after years of slavery to evil habits, to retrace his steps and return to a healthy and saintly state of life. But that which is impossible to man is not impossible to God. If a miracle or even a series of miracles be needed to help the repentant sinner's good-will, miracles will be forthcoming.

I do not mean thereby that the sinner will be spared the hardships of conversion; no, for these are a part of his expiation and a necessary discipline. It is required that by as many acts of self-indulgence as he descended to his present position on the road of perdition, by at least as many acts of self-restraint and self-renunciation shall he now retrace his steps before he can scale the heights of sanctity.

Do you think that the prodigal's return home in the state that he was in was not fraught with appalling difficulties to his self-love? When the Good Shepherd lifted up the erring sheep from the thorny bush on the mountain crag, where it had fallen and all but killed itself and took it tenderly into His arms, He could not for all His loving care prevent the bruised sheep from feeling the pain of its hurts nor the tediousness of the journey back to the fold, nor the discomfort of the heat of the day. The Good Samaritan poured, it is true, oil and vinegar into the wounds of the unfortunate traveler who had fallen into the hands of highway-men, been robbed and left half dead on the wayside. He skillfully bandaged the wounds and with infinite care placed the man on his beast and led him to an inn, the nearest on the road. But for all that he could not prevent fever from setting in during the night, in consequence of the loss of blood and the terrible nervous shock which the poor man had sustained; neither could he forestall nor shorten the slow progress of recovery.

Although God has forgiven all past sins as soon as a full, sincere and sorrowful confession of them has been made, and although the penitent has by confession banished the loathsome presence of sin from his soul and is resolved with God's grace to begin a new life, nevertheless, the consequences of sin still remain. He will have resolutely to grapple with these, nor can he hope to overcome them all at once, but gradually, and by dint of patient and unremitting effort. The arch-fiend has been forced to evacuate the country he had invaded, but he leaves it bare and desolate, the fields are burnt,

the houses in ruins. Time and labor will be needed to clear the rubbish and break up the ground again and rebuild the houses and thus bring the country to its former flourishing condition.

It may even happen occasionally in the beginning of his conversion that the poor penitent may relapse into sin after a long and protracted struggle. Has he really given full consent to evil? No one can tell—himself less than any one. Whether quite a mortal sin or not, this relapse is horribly painful, yet the poor sinner must rise at once; but he remains dazed and sick and disgusted with himself and so frightened. Saint Angela of Foligno had such a relapse in the beginning of her conversion. Thus it is absolutely certain that the sinner wishing to return to God has before him, besides the hardships common to all the servants of God, the prospect of some special sufferings which are the effect of his past sins and would have been spared him if he had never left the path of virtue. He is therefore in need of a very powerful grace of God: but he is no sooner resolved to correspond to grace than he is at once lifted out of the depths of perdition and assumed into the economy of divine life. **This is already an immense miracle**, the proportions of which we shall be able to appreciate only in paradise.

This is only the beginning. The penitent sinner has now to set out on his way of the Cross and to climb his Calvary. He does so, dragging himself heavily along, groaning under the weight of the awkward cross which he has hewn and carved out for himself with his own hands; it is made up of the shame of his past sins, of the falterings of nature and of the tyranny of inveterate evil habits—a heavy cross, which occasionally bears him down and seems on the point of crushing him to death. So it proved to be with the illustrious penitent, Mary of Egypt, in the first years of her solitary life. Now and again she fell into discouragement; almost into despair—almost, almost, but not quite. It is so with every true penitent. But here we behold a second miracle. Lo, the Lamb of God, the Divine Saviour, walks before the weary pilgrim of Calvary, laden with His own still heavier Cross, bleeding, falling, rising again and beckoning to him to follow. And virtue goes out of the sweet Saviour, so that, though trembling, the poor penitent is able to rise to his feet again and totter on and now as he climbs higher and higher up the steep hill, he finds it more alluring than the broad way of his former life of sin and he begins to love its very hardness.

Humiliations will not be spared him on the way—kicks and cuffs, and sneers and lashes of the tongue and curses deep and loud from his former associates in sin. No one can leave with impunity the

service of Belial. Oh! how the world and the devils hate the man who turns away from them to follow Jesus to Calvary!

Nor are these the severest trials. To the innocent Jesus Himself the worst afflictions during His sacred Passion came not from the hands of men, but from those of His Heavenly Father and from His own hands, so to say, **I mean from the horror and hatred** with which he looked upon the sins of the world which He bore in His own Person. So also for the true penitent. The severest afflictions come to him from the hands of God and from his own hands.

Although God has forgiven him, the penitent himself will never till death forgive himself for having offended the Divine Majesty. Many and many a time will he break his heart in silent prayer and melt into bitter tears at the recollection of his former offenses. See how St. Peter bewailed all his life the misfortune of having in a moment of weakness denied his Master. Tradition tells us the tears coursing incessantly from his eyes had traced deep furrows in his cheeks. The immortal penitential psalms bear witness to the deep, long-abiding sorrow of King David after his crime; and they furnish the penitents of all ages with an inspired form in which to express their bitter regret of having offended God.

Now in this abiding and persevering sorrow of the penitent sinner lies one of the greatest safeguards against a relapse into sin. There is little danger of doing again what is bewailed so bitterly. Lifelong observation has convinced me that the reason why so many Christians lamentably relapse into grievous sin, even soon after good confessions—as good, at any rate, as attrition with holy absolution can make them—is chiefly that they do not cultivate an abiding sorrow for their former offenses; or, what comes to the same thing, they do not cultivate a true love of God for Himself. They have received holy absolution with joy and with a deep sense of relief, but they do no further penance than the light one imposed by the priest, nor do they feel the necessity of watching and praying against the recurrence of temptation. As soon as forgiven, their sins are forgotten by them. And yet we are warned by the oracle of the Holy Ghost: “My son, be not without fear even of the sins that have been forgiven thee.” Hence the deplorable weakness of many Christians. What would seem incredible also is that repeated falls do not help them to grasp this principle of spiritual life—that, though God forgives the sinner, the sinner must never forgive himself; herein lies the surest safeguard for the future.

“Wash me yet more from my iniquity,” sighs the true penitent with the King-Prophet. God hears his prayer, He cleanses him more and more. For although our Heavenly Father has forgiven the sins of His penitent child, yet does He chastise him, make him

suffer, allow him to feel the full weight of their horror and wickedness. This God does, not in anger, but in love; not only in order to cleanse the soul more and more, but in order to make it gain precious merits for heaven, thus redeeming lost time.

Hence it is that, after the first transport of joy and sweetness and fervor of conversion, there usually sets in a period of darkness and dryness, a withdrawal of spiritual consolations. Prayer,, meditations, Holy Communions—all seem absolutely devoid of the unction of piety. Sometimes a well-nigh invincible horror of confession will come upon the soul; doubts, fearful doubts, arise as to whether the sins of the past have been duly confessed and are really forgiven; the infinite mercy of God is lost sight of and the efficacy which the Sacraments derive from the merits of the Passion of Our Lord. The perplexed penitent, seeking vainly to alleviate his sufferings, desires, while at the same time he dreads, to repeat over and over again his general confession, and, though he may do this, it will but serve to involve him in an inextricable maze of explanations and difficulties. The unbearable torment of scrupulosity infests the soul and doubts against faith and frightful temptations against purity alternate with the fear of death and of the judgment to come.

Is all this terrible enough? True and yet is it not better to be so tormented and pleasing to God than to be as heretofore a slave of the devil living on the brink of hell? This soul is happy, deep down within herself. She would not exchange her present state for the happiest moments of her former life. She has become a spectacle to the world and to angels, to the saints of heaven and to God Himself. Oh! with what palpitating interest do these follow each incident in the beautiful drama of the transformation of a sinner into a saint, even into another Christ!

The supreme act will be accomplished in the mystical crucifixion and death on the Cross of the poor penitent. He must submit to be stripped of all created affections and allow his soul to be torn to shreds by the most cruel tortures and to be nailed to the cross and hang there by his wounds. Then all the pains of this soul shall be gathered up into one, the greatest of all, the torment of thirst—the thirst for love, for the feeling of loving God and of being loved by Him. Of this cooling draught he shall be refused even one drop, and instead, he shall be offered bitter gall and vinegar. He must go through the supreme ordeal of feeling abandoned by men and by God Himself and cry out with Jesus in His extremity: "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?"

Meanwhile there is more joy in heaven upon the transformation of such a sinner into Jesus and into Jesus Crucified than upon the perseverance of ninety-nine just who need not penance. Oh! it

were enough, if that were possible, to fill even the saints with envy!

But the sublimity of his state is wholly hidden from him as yet. Hidden also, quite out of sight is the marvellous crown of jewels of eternal splendor, which all these painful victories over self are gaining for him.

Behold at last the moment of triumph is at hand, Jesus says to the dying sinner: "Friend and fellow-sufferer, this day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise. *Consummatum est*. All is finished!" "Come, beloved; winter is now passed, sadness is no more; the joyful voice of love is heard in our land; the flowers of eternal glory break forth all over thee; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

Oh, what a chorus of congratulations bursts forth upon the ears of the penitent-elect, and what hosannahs of praise to God and of jubilation are heard in heaven when such a one makes entrance there.

Sinner, O my brother, it is yet in our power, yours and mine, with God's grace to secure ineffable glory such as this for ourselves and to give joy to the hosts in heaven above. We are wretched, yea, but the more wretched we are at present, the greater will our achievement be! Shall we not start forth upon the journey?

THE UNCLEAN SPIRITS.

These Outlines of the Doctrine of the Mystical Life would not be complete and we should be guilty of a serious omission were we not to take into account the fallen angels, their sin and their action upon the world at large, as upon the Church of Christ and upon each individual soul in particular. This consideration will help towards a true appreciation of Mysticism. It will also serve to bring out in clear perspective the fate of the purest and brightest of God's creatures once they separate themselves from Him who is their life, and it will show us at the same time the wisdom and power of God Himself, Who from the evil of sin draws a greater good, namely, that of the sanctification of His elect and the manifestation of the treasures of His charity. Indeed, the Church of Christ and every predestinated soul would be far less bright and holy than they now are had they not passed through the severe ordeal of temptation by devils and persecution by the wicked, and we would never have known the excess of the love of God for us had not the sin of our first parents given occasion for the awful mystery of our Redemption by the Cross.

By a wise counsel of God the devil is permitted to have a hand in the making of history. We cannot reckon without him. Nor could we explain without him the superhuman perverseness of some historical personages, such as Cain, Pharaoh, Antiochus, Judas, Nero,

Domitian, Arius, Mhhomet, Luther, Voltaire, Robespierre, the Anti-christ that is to come; nor the superhuman perverseness of associations such as Free-masonry; nor the ugliest features of such great social upheavals as the so-called Reformation of the sixteenth century, the French Revolution of the end of the eighteenth century and the present world-war, with its atrocities, sacrileges and immoralities, at least on the part of some of the belligerents. The activity of Satan does much more than merely add a further source of temptation to the weakness of the world and of the flesh; it brings to bear also a combination and an intelligent direction of all the elements of evil. Man, even fallen from innocence and grace, would never have descended to the depths of wickedness he is capable of now if he had been left to himself.

The devils are spirits of darkness; they are set out upon the task of casting darkness over the souls of men, to make them fall into errors, dogmatic and moral, and thus achieve their eternal ruin. It is worthy of the infinite wisdom of God that He allows them to have their way for a time whilst turning their malicious intent to His own ends. By their insane efforts the devils only succeed in threshing out the wheat of the divine Husbandman, separating it from the chaff upon the threshing floor of this present world. The wheat is being constantly taken up into heaven by the blessed angels; the chaff only remains in the hands of the devils, to be burnt for ever with them in the flames of hell.

St. John Climachus, that great master and teacher of mystical Theology, in "The Steps of Paradise" shows us the devils, full of cunning and malice, incessantly applying the keenness of their intellects and the unbending strength of their perverted wills to the one purpose of burning down, by means of the very fire which torments them, the temple of God, that is to say, the Church of Jesus Christ, and every individual soul which, when in the state of grace, is also the temple of God. "Brethren," says St. Paul, "put you on the armor of God, that you may be able to stand against the deceits of the devil. For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the world of this darkness, against the spirits of wickedness in high places. Wherefore, take unto you the armor of God, that you may be able to resist in the evil day and to stand in all things perfect. Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breast-plate of justice: in all things taking the shield of faith, wherewith you may be able to extinguish all the fiery darts of the most wicked one." (Eph. vi., 11-16.)

Our Lord calls the devils "unclean spirits." It would be impossible to find another name which would characterize them more

truly. The idea of uncleanness seems very repugnant to that of spirituality. The devils are angels, that is to say, spirits, unmixed with bodily matter, and therefore absolutely free from the passions of lust which are derived therefrom; how, then, can they be called unclean? Do not the two words "unclean" and "spirit" involve a contradiction, an anomaly, a monstrosity? Yes; but we are prepared somewhat to understand this by what we have read (*supra* Ch. XIII,) of sin in the abstract, namely, that it is an absurdity, an anomaly, a guilty return to nothingness—therefore a corruption, making the subject of it unclean.

The devils are justly called unclean, though spirits, because they have embraced the state of sin and live in it for ever. The love of God is the only aroma which can preserve the reasonable creature from corruption. This love they have deliberately and definitively put away. They are, moreover, justly called unclean, because sin is now their only occupation—hating and blaspheming God, tempting men and tormenting themselves and one another and their victims, the reprobates in hell. These are the only uses to which they put their bright intellect and strong will. Finally, they are justly called unclean, because they tempt men to commit the sins of the flesh, for which they themselves, as pure spirits, have a horror, intense and abiding. Such is their hatred of God that they incite men to this thing which causes in themselves an intolerable nausea—just as if a man of noble birth and education and of refined tastes would hate another man to such an extent that he would do violence to himself and take in his hands the most unclean substance in order to fling it at the picture of his enemy, whose person he was unable to reach. How unclean indeed must they be accounted who are the instigators of all uncleanness.

From various passages of Holy Scripture—more particularly from *Ezech. xxviii., 12-15, Isaias xiv., 12-15, Luke x., 18, and Apoc. xii., 1-9*—the Fathers of the Church and scholastic theologians have evolved the story of the fall of the angels as follows: The sin of Lucifer and his followers consisted in refusing to abide and persevere in the supernatural order in which God had placed them in the first moment of their existence. All the angels of God in the beginning were created in a like state of grace. They were all made angels of light, children of God, dearly loved, highly exalted, and they were all alike destined, after due probation, to the glory and bliss of the beatific vision. They were not only endowed with a most excellent, purely spiritual nature, free from any defect or inclination to evil and sin, but they were moreover raised by grace above their nature to an unspeakable height of positive sanctity and endowed with most admirable supernatural illumination and virtue.

It is from such a height that with open eyes deliberately, by their own choice and without any temptation, they precipitated themselves.

Lucifer revolted against the precedence given to love over intellect. The splendor of his own natural gifts seem to have so dazzled him that he loathed the supernatural order wherein magnificence of intellect counted for nothing if not accompanied by humility and love. He was enraged to see in the light of the revelation that was given to all the angels during their probation this great wonder in heaven, a future Lucifer or Light-bearer, brighter than himself, namely, the Virgin, with the Child-God in her arms. He could not bring himself to acknowledge that a woman inferior to him in nature should at some future epoch be made his Queen, and that the seed of that woman should be preferred to himself for the honor of the hypostatic union. Thus it was that when God the Father made known to the angels the coming of the First-Begotten in the humility of our flesh and commanded all the angels to adore Him (Heb. 1-6), Lucifer raised his great battle-cry and his rebellion spread to some of the ranks of the angelic hierarchies—and we know the sequel.

So the devils, though still perfect in the incorruptible nature of pure spirits, are vitiated in their intellect and will, in that they do not accept the supernatural order, they protest against it, they unceasingly wage war against it, and God allows them for a while to fight against it with all their might. The devil will, of course, never have the knowledge proper of the blessed in the beatific vision. On the other hand, by his apostasy he has fallen away from grace and from the divine light that was in him at his creation. He has but the knowledge that is common to all pure spirits, which is very great indeed, but is only of natural things and does not make for happiness; it is but darkness in regard to the whole supernatural order. In his affections and in his acts the devil is monstrously deformed. From an angel of light he has changed himself into an angel of darkness; from a pure flame of love he has made himself a dragon, a burning brand of inextinguishable malice and hatred. Our quaint mediæval painters were not, after all, so far from hitting the mark when they pictured "*Old Horney*" in all sorts of shameful deformations and grotesque attitudes.

"THE WORLD OF THIS DARKNESS."

In the banding together of the devils with the sinners of the world is to be found an explanation of that strange phenomenon, that formidable power of evil upon earth called by the Apostle "The world of this darkness." (Eph. vi., 12.)

By this expression St. Paul does not mean the material universe of things visible, which God made and which He solemnly declared in the beginning to be "good, very good" (Gen. 11), nor even that portion of it, the earth, on which living men, divided into two opposite camps, carry on their deeds of sanctity or of shame. By "the world of this darkness" the apostle signifies only the whole company of sinners, together with their evil works in every department of human activity. This is the world over which the devil is proclaimed prince. "The prince of this world," as our Lord says (Jo. xii., 31). When Christ was tempted in the desert, the devil took Him up into a high mountain and showed Him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them and said unto Him: "All these will I give Thee if, falling down, Thou wilt adore me." (Mat. iv., 8-9.) This is the world against which our Lord launches His anathemas: "Woe to the world on account of its scandals." (Mat. xviii., 7.) "Father, I pray not for the world, but for them whom Thou hast given Me. . . . out of the world. . . . They are not of the world, as I also am not of the world." (Jo. xvii., 6, 9, 16.) To His brethren who did not believe in Him He said: "The world cannot hate you, but Me it hateth, because I give testimony of it, that the works thereof are evil." (Jo. vii., 7.) And to the Jews who did not receive His teaching He declared: "You are from beneath, I am from above, you are of this world, I am not of this world." (Jo. viii. 23.) This is the world which St. John says is "wholly seated in wickedness" (I. Jo. v., 19) and of which he gives us solemn warning: "My little children, love not the world, nor the things which are in the world. If any man love the world, the charity of the Father is not in him; for all that is in the world is the concupiscence of the flesh, and the concupiscence of the eyes, and the pride of life, which is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the world passeth away, and the concupiscence thereof, but he that doth the Will of God abideth for ever." (I. Jo. xi., 15-17.)

So the world is the society of the wicked on earth, under the leadership of the devil. It is social, collective, cumulative, organized ungodliness. It is the City of Evil, "The great city which hath kingdom over the kings of the earth." (Apoc. xvii., 18,) the city of confusion, the Babel of contradiction and strife, the image of hell on earth, where men hate one another and agree together in but one thing, namely, in "fighting with the Lamb." (Apoc. xvii., 14;) it is "the Great Babylon" (Apoc. xix., 5,) as opposed to the City of God on earth, the Church Militant, which is made up of the servants of God, under the leadership of Christ.

Between these two cities the Church of God on the one hand

and the great Babylon of this world on the other, as the genius of St. Augustine has sketched them out in his immortal work, "De Civitate Dei," there is irreconcilable enmity. The boundaries which separate them are not material ones, walls of stone or ditches dug in the earth. Their respective soldier-citizens are intermingled one with another; and though God knows His own, the eyes of men cannot always distinguish in the strife and confusion which are of God and which are of the devil. The world finds confederates in the very heart of the citadel, even on the steps of the sanctuary. At the same time the Church of God is fearlessly sending forth apostolic men to all the nations of the earth, who cease not continually to snatch victims from the lures of sin and from the very jaws of hell, and she finds her faithful subjects in all classes of society. To the angel of Pergamus our Lord said in the Apocalypse: "I know where thou dwellest, where the seat of Satan is." (Apoc. xi., 13.) To every servant of God living in a great city where corruption is seething these words may also fitly be addressed.

As the Church of God on earth has affinities with heaven and constant intercommunication with the blessed angels and saints and with God Himself, so the world of sin has affinities and constant inter-communication with the hell of the damned and its inhabitants. The Spiritism of to-day, like that of all past ages, would bear out this contention were it necessary after the clear, emphatic and abundant testimony of the Scriptures.

The world is at one and the same time a lunatic asylum, a convict prison, a home for contagious and incurable diseases, a barracks of the Devil's militia, a den of unspeakable malefactors, a jungle full of wild beasts; it is a low and sordid theatre, where, from one generation to another, the same ignoble tragi-comedy is enacted by drunken players; it is the shambles of all innocence and purity—an immense whited sepulchre, beautiful without, but full within of dead men's bones and every sort of filth; a cesspool, barely covered with a veil of silk.

The world is the *Cloaca Maxima* of the sweet universe of God, into which all the festering rottenness of the seven capital sins is continually being shot in overwhelming quantities to be disgorged into hell. No wonder its atmosphere is stifling. Its stench almost kills outright the souls of those who venture incautiously into its midst. Men marvel sometimes that young people whose innocence has been safeguarded beneath the parental roof, or who have been educated by priests or nuns, suddenly fall into sin and give scandal soon after making their appearance in the world. Yes, this sort of thing happens occasionally, but it need not surprise anybody. The education such young people receive at home, or in the convent-

school, or at the Catholic college may not be to blame in the least. Even if it is all it ought to be, it does not, because it cannot prepare these young people for what they have to contend with in the world. That is more than ordinary virtue can withstand.

A comparison may make my meaning plain. Suppose we were to thrust into the main sewers of some great city, let us say London or Paris, a swarm of bees, some butterflies, some birds—swallows, nightingales or larks—or some squirrels—how do you think these lovely children of azure and pure air would fare in so dark and foul a place? How long do you think they would live? Not for a single day; perhaps not even for an hour. Only rats and bats could thrive in such an atmosphere. So it is with pure souls thrust into the world—that sewer, that Cloaca Maxima, which is carrying along on the impure stream of its literature, business and so-called pleasures and honors the floating corpses of souls in all degrees of putrescence. No wonder the mystic, that child of light and song, having once tasted how sweet God is, will have nothing to do with it.

The question now naturally arises: If the dangers of the world are so appalling, so universal, so manifold, who can hope to save himself therein? Yet it is not every one who can betake himself into the desert, as the hermits of old, or seek the seclusion of the cloister. What will the poor Christian in the world do?

A very pertinent question this and one which brings into view one of the least understood aspects of mystical life, namely, the part played by the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost in the general economy of grace.

In becoming a perfect Christian by the Sacrament of Confirmation a man receives all he needs to enable him to cope with the difficulties of his situation in the midst of a corrupting and corrupt world. He is made a soldier, he is given a breast-plate, arms and munitions. By the internal unction of the Holy Ghost he is rendered immune from the poisonous gases, as also from all pusillanimity and human respect. The slight blow he receives on the cheek at the hand of the Bishop is not only a symbol of what he ought to be ready to suffer for Christ, but it does actually and permanently confer on him the grace to be thus ready to suffer for the faith, even unto the shedding of his blood, even unto death, like the martyrs of old. All he needs henceforth is to live up to his promotion in the spiritual life and make good use of the resources at his disposal. Let him bear in mind that he is now no longer a child, but a soldier, and he must comport himself as such, unsheath his weapons, inhale and breathe forth the sweet odor

of Jesus Christ, he strong in faith and fervent in love; in a word, he must be a mystic.

In the second and third parts of these Outlines we shall see at greater length how the Gifts of the Holy Ghost raise a man above himself, above nature, above even the grace of ordinary virtues, theological as well as moral, and will, if he be attentive and docile to the internal motions of the Holy Ghost, make him a hero, not only on extraordinary occasions, such as when he is called upon to confess his faith before tyrants, but even in all the ordinary circumstances of life—a hero, a genuine hero, constantly and perseveringly a hero, by the purity of intention, the fervor of love and the perfect contempt of the world which he displays in all he does. It is enough for my present purpose in this chapter if the consideration of “The world of this darkness” has furnished us with a fresh proof of the fact that every Christian ought to be a mystic. By the very perils of his situation in the world a man is called to be a mystic, and he has in the grace of the Sacrament of Confirmation the wherewithal to become a mystic if he but lend an attentive ear to the motions of this grace.

If the further question be asked: why is it that so few, so very few of the Christians who have received the Sacrament of Confirmation fail in their struggle with the world? I answer: Simply because, after having received this Sacrament, they think no more about it. They do not suspect the magnificence of the riches they have received, nor do they realize the serious obligation to strive after sanctity for which every means has been put into their hands, which has thereby been laid upon them. Thus through their own ignorance or culpable carelessness the Divine Guest, the Holy Ghost, is bound and fettered in their soul. The omnipotence of Divine Love is reduced to inefficiency and this by the ill-will of the lukewarm Christian.

SIGNUM BESTIAE.

The sure mark of the beast in fallen angel or sinful man, on earth or in hell, through time and eternity is unmysticism.

The exclusion of the grace of God, the actual and habitual state of sin, the being enslaved by the concupiscence of the flesh, or by that of the eyes, or by the pride of life, or by any of the capital sins, all have one common characteristic, all can be ranged under one comprehensive head—unmysticism.

There is speculative, philosophical, highly reasoned and dogmatical or pedantic unmysticism; there is impulsive, instinctive and highly unreasoning unmysticism; there is practical, downright matter-of-fact unmysticism; and there is even religious unmysticism,

ascetical unmysticism, one might almost say mystical unmysticism. Thus the negative attitude towards the supernatural, which is, without any guilt on its part, the attitude proper of the beast, when guiltily assumed by the reasonable creature of God reduces him to the level of the beast.

Tertullian calls the proud man "*animal gloriæ*," just as St. Paul calls the sensual man "*animalis homo*," and indeed is not the slave of pride as much as the slave of sensual indulgence one who has no relish for the things of God, who perceives not the things of mystical life? Your so-called intellectual, your modernist, your diletteante in matters of faith—what is he, after all? A beast! *animal gloriæ*! He may strut and pose and play the Sir Oracle, yet by his unmysticism he has descended, together with the poor slave of drink and debauchery, to the level of the unreasoning brute. Here is tragedy! Here is irony with a vengeance!

The damned in hell will all be on the same level, in that they have rejected God and His knowledge; they have thus made themselves unreasoning creatures like unto beasts; they are beasts, every one of them, and Lucifer the greatest beast of all, "*Bestia*." (Apoc. xxxiv.) This rejection cast him down to depths as great as were the heights of supernatural illumination and sanctity to which, as a pure spirit, he had been raised by God. Disobedience or the breaking off of proper relations between creature and Creator was taken by him and all his train for a mark of superiority, but instead it has proved an unmistakable sign of deterioration. Of a truth, only the humility of faith, coupled with the fervor of charity, makes us true men and children of God.

At bottom the sinner on earth and the reprobate in hell, man or angel, have this in common—God displeases them, Who is the sovereign good! They are sorry that God is infinitely holy, and just and good, and loving, and omnipotent, the First Cause, the Last End and the Supreme Lawgiver. They would have a god of their own fashioning or none at all. They say: Why does not God leave us alone? Why does He refer us to Himself? Why does He not allow us to be happy in our own way? Why should we take any account of Him?

Now this we declare emphatically: whoever is touched with this blight shows the mark of the beast.

It is his attitude towards the divine order and plan which is itself a source of torment and vexation to the reprobate. The manifestation of God in nature, the revelation of the three Divine Persons in Holy Writ, the mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God, of the redemption of man by the Cross, of the Church of Christ with its Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and the seven Sacra-

ments—these things cause him tortures of disquietude. He is enraged at the multitudes of angels that remained immovable in their allegiance to God and thus attained the glory and bliss of heaven; that so many men are saved by serving and loving God, that the Virgin Mary is Queen over all, and that the nuptials of the Lamb will fill the blessed with everlasting glory. All this, so inexpressibly grand and beautiful and good, displeases him; this is why we say he is unreasonable, like unto the brute.

The reprobates then are the unloving ones, “*les sans-amour*,” and they are themselves unlovable. Unmysticism, this is their disease, and they themselves have made it incurable. Is not this a frightful state of affairs?

There are two courses open to all men: that which leads to a life with God, in His friendship and active love, by the deliberate acceptance of the whole supernatural order, culminating in the mystical union of the soul with God; or that which leads to a deliberate refusal of the friendship and the love of God, a wilful withdrawal from the supernatural, which renders the mystical union of the soul with God impossible.

The sin of the rebel angels was a refusal to abide and persevere in the mystical union with God, in which they had been created. The sin of Eve in yielding to the temptation of the devil and eating the forbidden fruit was likewise a discarding or rejection of the supernatural, by which her mystical union with God was brought to an end. And Adam’s sin, in giving preference to the wishes of his guilty wife rather than to the known will of God was a terrible coming down from the high supernatural regions of mystical union with God to the domain of the purely natural—a descent which he also consummated freely and with open eyes.

In the same way every actual sin, if analyzed, is found to be a refusal to enter into the supernatural order or a wilful withdrawal from it, and hereby all possibility of mystical union of the soul with God is precluded. By sin, therefore, the soul either goes against the light of reason and refuses the light of faith; or, having received the light of faith, fails to follow it up to the consummation of charity in the mystical union with God.

And we shall find that all false religions, after all, are nothing but a substitute of the natural elements for the supernatural. What is Paganism but the worship of nature under symbols more or less ingenious or more or less brutish? Heresies in their attacks against certain revealed truths are simply so many attempts at putting the human sense in the place of divine authority. Freemasonry, as has been ascertained, from its secret teaching as well as from its consistent public action all over the world, has no other

end but to snatch the whole human race from Jesus Christ and subjugate it to the worship of pure reason. Now the worship of pure reason is not quite the same as the worship of purity. This was startlingly demonstrated when during the French Revolution, *la Déesse Raison*, impersonated in "le marbre vivant d'une chair prostituée"—to use the words of Lacordaire—was unveiled with sacrilegious pomp and ceremony on the high altar of Notre Dame in Paris. Every sinner by going against the light of reason and revelation substitutes for the worship of God the idolatrous worship of the creature, that is to say, of his own self or some other created object, animate or inanimate, gold or flesh or dirt. Like the devil, he desires something more than the mystical union with God, and that something more, alas, is found to be infinitely less and horribly degrading.

THE MYSTICAL ORDER OF THE UNIVERSE.

From the survey in the preceding chapter of the common characteristic of sin in its every manifestation we have a right to say that the supernatural order might as well be called the mystical order.

The purchase of true religion being no other than to bring man to a perfect union of love with God, in which truly consists the mystical life, we arrive at the remarkable conclusion that the whole question of the supernatural is really one of mysticism.

The question put first to the angels and afterwards to Adam and now to each one of us individually is this: Will you accept the mystical union of love with God or will you not? Sin is a flat refusal, regardless of consequences, to embrace or sustain this mystical union with God.

Tepidity, on the other hand, is (as we have seen) a sort of dangerous benumbing of the mystical faculties, a paralysis verging on the confines of spiritual death. Alone the avowed and uncompromising mystic is safe. "*Mystici in tuto*," we might say, using a phrase of Bossuet in a somewhat different way from him. Alone the mystic embraces the supernatural with all its consequences, in all its bearings upon human life, as summed up in the commandment: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and with thy whole soul, and with thy whole mind." Now one who so wholly and perfectly loves God loves also himself wisely, and cannot but love his neighbor in a chaste and generous spirit and in a manner wholly supernatural. Only mystics can love thus, that is to say in such a manner that their union with God is not hampered by their love of any person or thing created.

But we will go a step further and prove that all things whatever

are mystical, each in its proper place and degree (the sinner and his sin of course excepted.) Not only the things of religion, such as Holy Mass, the Sacraments, the Divine Scriptures, persons and things consecrated to God and the pious acts of Christians in their different states of life, are mystical, but the whole material universe also. The firmament bedecked with millions of stars, the earth with its varied productions and inhabitants, the mighty ocean, the laws of nature, the elements, the seasons, the lengthening out of time in days and months and years and centuries—each separate system of things and each creature individually, from the constellation in the remotest depths of space to the infinitesimally small, invisible speck of a being, situated seemingly on the very verge of nothingness—all these and man, poised as it were between two immensities, the one of greatness above him, the other of smallness below him—all these, I say, are mystical. They are mystical not only by their value as demonstrations of God's existence, His transcendence and infinite perfections, or again by their symbolical and allegorical value which is so great—this all mystics delight in telling us; but, moreover, in themselves, in their proper substantial reality, as things sanctified in our Lord Jesus Christ and in a way united to Him. Not only is God naturally and necessarily implied in the existence of all things, He being present in each one by His divine immanence; not only does God maintain and support them by a continual putting forth of His creative energy; but it has pleased Him, moreover, gratuitously to establish between them and His Divine Son made Man a relation of an incomparably higher order, to give them a share now in the sanctifying of souls and the perfecting of the elect, and hereafter to assume them into the realm of His Infinite Glory.

We distinguish, for the sake of convenience, the different orders in the scheme of the universe—the order of nature, the order of grace and the order of glory, but we must not speak of these as if they were separate and independent of one another: in Christ Jesus they are integral parts of one grand order, which, if I must call it by a comprehensive name, I would make bold to style “the Mystical Order.”

That the order of nature is not isolated from that of grace and that both are destined to be together transmuted into the order of glory in Christ Jesus is evident as far as man is concerned. The two elements, nature and grace, are as the warp and woof of our present state, necessary one to the other, upholding one another and coming to naught if separated. It takes a man to make a Christian, as it requires a pure spirit to make a blessed angel. On the other hand, take away the supernatural element from either man

or angel and this noble being is shattered and becomes respectively a devil or a reprobate. Then both the good angel and the Christian were from the first predestined to be raised to glory. And not only they, but the whole material universe along with them.

We shall be repaid for our trouble if we examine thoroughly this proposition: that the whole material universe, along with men and angels, is involved in the mystical order. We have been so accustomed in this infidel age to look upon the whole world of creation with secularized intellects, if I may use the expression, and to think of it all as a set of things upon which sinner and saint alike have common right of dominion, whilst the truth is that the whole order of nature should be viewed only in the light of God, Who made it, and of the purpose for which He made it, which is the fulfilling of Christ; and that the sinner, precisely *because he has broken with God*, has forfeited all right over the things of this world. If he is allowed for a brief space to use them freely, it is only on sufferance and to give him time to return to a better frame of mind. "Knowest thou not (oh, man) that the benignity of God leadeth thee to penance?" (Rom. xi., 4.)

Everything that is, whether animate or inanimate, is of God, and is in God, and is for God and His Christ and His saints and for them only.

The material world is a divine parable of the love of God for man. Heaven, Earth, Sea and Hell itself witness with a million voices the secret which is the sole felicity of man: the love of God—how many alas, refuse to hear! Each single creature is a fragment of the great created mirror of God, Nature; and each fragment reflects in its tiny compass what the whole mirror reveals upon a more magnificent scale. Everything that is reflects in its own way the Power, Wisdom, Goodness and above all the Love of our Heavenly Father. God is love; all love; all love in Himself, all love in His operations *ad extra*, all love in the necessary relation of all things to His divine goodness, and all love in the gratuitous supernatural relations. He has introduced into the world through His Son Jesus Christ. Thus everything that is, is steeped in the divine, steeped in love, made part and parcel of a grand mystical order and manifests it in Christ.

Reason alone unaided by divine revelation might discern much of this. But oh! how much more light is thrown on the subject when we hear of the mystery of the Incarnation! The Martyrology on the 25th of December opens out with this sublime announcement: "Jesus Christus, aeternus Deus, aeternique Dei filius, *mundum volens adventu suo piissimo consecrare*, de Spiritu Sancto conceptus, nascitur ex Maria Virgine factus homo." The whole universe

of things created is consecrated and sanctified in the Sacred Humanity of Our Lord, and in Its turn the Sacred Humanity consecrates and sanctifies the world by being made from it and part of it and its crowning glory.

The whole world was already sacramental, leading to God, vibrating with the glory of its Maker and quivering with unspoken desire to enter into the mystical union of love with Him through man. The whole world was already aflame with God's love for us and groaning and travailing in its desire to render love for love. It was left to man to make or mar the happiness of the inferior world; and man was alas! failing its expectations when, lo, there comes down upon it one of the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity, the Son of God. He takes His stand in the midst of things created, making Himself one of them and the centre of the universe of all things visible or invisible! He gathers into His hands the threads of nature and holds everything fast to His own divine Self, all in love. Shall we say now that the world is not mystical?

We may consider the Universe as the book of God, written by the finger of God, in which God narrates His infinite perfections and sums them all up in one word: Love! stupendous Love! And in this book the readers themselves, angels and men, are some of the most beautiful chapters; yet the last and crowning one of all, the summary, the triumphant conclusion to which the rest lead up, is Jesus Christ. We have already seen (*supra*, Ch. XII.) how the different species of beings in the whole range of inferior nature are as so many steps towards the fulfilment of the Incarnation: Our Lord in His human nature being the end of all the works of God *ad extra*. He is not only the Last Chapter, but the First as well; "Christ, the image of the invisible God, the first born of every creature." (Coloss. i., 15.) "In the head of the book it is written of Me." (Heb. x., 7.) "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end! I am the first and the last." (Apoc. i., 8-17.) Therefore nothing can escape the mystical grasp of the Son of God made Man. Jesus must be named in all the chapters of the book of creation, for indeed they speak of Him, be it in the faintest accents or the most obscure terms. We must spell out His sacred name from every page and read everything in its light, under pain of not understanding what we read. But the misfortune of our infidel modern scientists, even as it is that of the fallen angels, is precisely that they do not read the Book of God thus and their science stands self-condemned. It is not *cognitio matutina*, nor *vespertina*, it is *nocturna*: it is all darkness, Jesus is not in it, He Who is the all in all of this world and the next!

"The Father loveth the Son and He hath given all things into

His hand." (John iii., 35.) "All things are delivered to Me by My Father." (Mat. xi., 27.) "He hath subjected all things under His feet." (Jo. i., 22.)

With fine scorn did the great Bishop of Tulle, Mgr. Berteaud, in his pastoral of 1864, rail the men of his time who would have ousted God from the world and claimed the nineteenth century for their own. "Is anything their own?" he asks. "Is time theirs? Is the world theirs? Who gave it to them?" He goes on to show that God has given all things to His Christ, and that if the present world is still preserved in existence, they may thank the Church of Christ, which they are persecuting, for its preservation. For as the Father does everything for the sake of His Christ, so Jesus Christ in His turn orders everything for the sake of His mystical Bride, the Church of the elect. The present world will not endure one moment longer than is necessary for the making of the last of the saints.

Hear the inspired accents of the King-Prophet, celebrating these mysteries: "Why have the nations raged and the people devised vain things? The kings of the earth stood up and the princes met together against the Lord and against His Christ (saying): Let us break their bonds asunder, and let us cast away their yoke from us. He that dwelleth in heaven shall laugh at them, and the Lord shall deride them. Then shall He speak to them in His anger, and trouble them in His rage: but I am appointed King by Him over Sion, His holy mountain, preaching His commandment. The Lord hath said to Me: Thou art My Son; this day have I begotten Thee. Ask of Me and I will give Thee the Gentiles for Thy inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for Thy possession. Thou shalt rule them with a rod of iron, and shalt break them in pieces like a potter's vessel." (Ps. xi., 1-9.)

Mysticism, therefore, far from being something exceptional, an overgrowth or an outgrowth of religion, is the very breath of it: it is the whole of religion; nay, it is the great law of all the world in its every department; it is the force of attraction which goes out from the Sacred Humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ to all things created, consecrating and illuminating all. In violently wrenching themselves, as far as in them lay, from this all pervading and powerful attraction of the mystical order of things, the sinner and the reprobate do but give greater evidence to this law of the universe, as we shall see in the next chapter.

"THE SECOND DEATH" IN THE LIGHT OF MYSTICISM.

"God spared not the angels that sinned, but delivered them, drawn down by infernal ropes to the lower hell, unto torments, to be re-

served unto judgment." (II. Pet. xi., 4.) "But the fearful, and unbelieving and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, they shall have their portion in the pool burning with fire and brimstone, which is the second death." (Apoc. xxi., 8.) "And His zeal will take armor, and He will arm the creature for the revenge of his enemies." (Wisd. v., 18.)

"Then He shall say to them also that shall be on His left hand: Depart from Me, you cursed, into everlasting fire, which was prepared for the devil and his angels." (Mat. xxv., 41.) "The smoke of their torments shall ascend up for ever and ever." (Apoc. xiv., 11.)

Sin being what it is, the very worst kind of disorder, a disorder of the spirit—as we have now considered at some length—the ineffable sanctity of God cannot allow it to pass unnoticed, to go for ever unrepressed, or at any rate, unpunished. To the immaculate law of love and of mystical union of the reasonable creature with its Creator there needs must be a sanction, a ratification by which God makes it valid. This sanction must have been sufficiently promulgated, that is to say, denounced beforehand, that it might act as a deterrent and a providential safeguard to the would-be evil doer. Then, if sin be committed, this sanction must in God's good time immediately and with lightning-like rapidity for the rebel angels, with merciful delays in the case of man, be sternly applied, that the balance of right order in the sweet universe of God be not permanently disturbed.

This sanction by the very nature of the case can be no other essentially than the irrevocable separation from God, who is the life of the spirit—the being cast away by Him in this life and in the next. "Depart from Me, you that work iniquity." (Mat. vii., 23.) "Depart from Me, you cursed, into everlasting fire." (Mat. xxv., 41.)

The sinner on earth makes light enough of being cast away from the grace and the love of God. Mystical union with the Sovereign Good has for him no allurements, nor has actual excommunication from the mystical order thus far any terror. Only the formidable perspective of the hell of the damned can make any impression on the wretch. Nay, even that, if he still continues in his sin, may fail at last to rouse him to a sense of his guilt and of his awful danger—even when his sin has already spoiled his life on earth to the extent of making it a sort of anticipated hell.

"In what day soever thou shalt eat of it, thou shalt die the death." (Gen. xi., 17.) Thus spoke God to Adam when He notified to him upon what condition he was to hold the tenure of his present happy state and earn the future eternal bliss of heaven.

The mind of the first man, at once ancestor and representative of the whole human race, being then in all its pristine vigor fresh

from the hands of God and from his first entrancing intercourse with Him, with the light of reason and revelation shining full upon him in all its splendor, there can be no doubt but that he caught the full import of these words of God. There can be no doubt, either, though the Scriptures are silent on the subject, that all the angels at the time of their probation were fully informed beforehand of the secrets of eternal life, that is to say, of heaven and hell as alternative sanctions to the goodness or perverseness of their own free acts. Only in the state of primal innocence neither the angels first nor man afterwards knew experimentally what the threat of death could mean. But this placed them under no disadvantage whatsoever. Speculative knowledge, coupled with the love of God, ought to have been quite enough to have saved them from committing sin. A man does not need to go through the process of breaking his neck before he can make up his mind to enjoy life rather than throw himself down a precipice.

Hell is at the same time a place and a state.

It is the final state of those who have failed in the great business of making themselves fit for divine union, a state of unredeemable wickedness. The first chastisement of sin, persevered in to the end of one's life on earth, is that it remains what it is. It remains sin, that is to say, a disorder, a painful and monstrous disorder, and it will be such from henceforth and for evermore. Only the grace of God could have changed the sinner into a penitent and a saint during the days of his probation. He refused grace, put it away, obstinately, perseveringly, to the very end until death supervening, made him radically incapable of receiving any more. The sinner now can change himself no more than a dead carrion carcass can change itself into a living body. By his own act he has become for ever a dead thing, a corrupt and stinking corpse (whether of human or of angelic nature,) an abomination before God and His blessed angels and saints.

Of course, a monstrous thing like this cannot be allowed to remain for ever in the open, to disgrace the fair face of creation. Of a necessity it has to be swept out of sight and dumped into the great pit, into the awful great sink of hell, which was dug out by the just wrath of God for the fallen angels on the morning of creation, and for sanitary purposes, so to speak, filled with fire and brimstone. For, indeed, such unsavory things have to be seasoned with the salt of divine chastisement, else even from the depths of hell they would infect the universe.

There is in these degenerate days of ours a great deal of wasted sentimentality over the hard case of the damned. But the damned are not interesting in the least; not any more, indeed far less,

infinitely less, than dead dogs or cats or rotten fruit thrown on the refuse heap at the back door. There is no element of pathos in their case, as there would be if they had wanted at last to come back to God and had been debarred from doing so. Their evil plight, when we come to view it rightly, cannot possibly appeal to any reasonable person or make one conceive for them other feelings than those of a rightful indignation and an insurmountable revulsion.

Some pious people cherish the fond imagination that if a lost soul were set free from hell and allowed to return to earth for ever so short a time, it would appall the world by the rigor of its penance in its efforts to make its peace with God. This cannot be maintained theologically. In the face of the serene and admirably reasoned out doctrine of St. Thomas (I^a, II^æ, 9, 84-87) I take it that such a soul would rather appall the world by its absolute recklessness and obstinacy in sin. I take it that if, through a singular permission of God, the experiment were repeated not once, but ten times, a hundred or a thousand times, the lost soul returning to earth would each time refuse penance and resume its life of sin ten times, or a hundred, or a thousand times, clearly and openly manifesting that its case is absolutely hopeless, and that there is no alternative but to intern such a maniac where his presence could do no harm. "Deep calleth on deep, at the noise of thy flood-gates." (Ps. xxxi., 8.) The abysmal wickedness of the reprobate calls for the abysmal punishment of hell. Our Lord in the Apocalypse, (xi., 24,) speaks of "the depths of Satan." There are also the depths of all the other reprobates.

In our silly, superficial way of looking at this dread mystery of eternal damnation we are inclined sometimes to find that God is very severe to the unrepentant sinner, and that hell is perhaps too great a punishment. But there was no other way left to God. The sinner refused to be wholesome; he chose to be rotten: he must be got rid of, cast away with a curse to endure his penalty of eternal fire. Rotten fruit or meat is thrown away in disgust, but not in anger; there is no blame attached to its condition, but rotten, putrid angelic natures and human souls are guilty of their own evil.

Hell is thus the final resort, where day by day, generation after generation, century after century, from the beginning of the world till the day of the last judgment, all the filth and rottenness of spoiled angelic natures and human individuals meet and intermingle and accumulate filth and rottenness, moral, not material, of the spirit, not of the flesh. O Lucifer, proud rebellious spirit without love, here is thy kingdom, worthy of thee; thou art the prince over all

this immense and deep world of unspeakable filth. And you, sinner, my brother, do you realize that this is the goal to which you are tending and running with all your might, even as a river hastens its course to lose itself in the ocean? Can it be that you wish to dwell in that pool of filth and fire, with all those miscreants, for all eternity? Then indeed it will be "The second death," that death from which there is no possible resurrection!

Hell then is at one and the same time a state and a place, just as heaven itself is a state and a place. The two things in either case cannot be separated. The special state calls for the particular place and vice versa. Heaven is the place or, better, the Kingdom of the glory of God, and at the same time it calls on its inhabitants for a state of perfect and inadmissible charity.

If, supposing an impossibility, a devil or a reprobate were admitted into paradise, he would be in the realm of glory, but because he would not be in the state of charity, the splendor surrounding him would burn him with shame more fiercely than the very flames of hell. Hell itself is a mercy for the damned compared with what paradise would be.

On the other hand, if a saint, whether from among the blessed angels or the Christians, one in whom the love of God was confirmed, were cast into hell, hell itself would not be to him the place of torment which it is to the reprobates, because he would love the very torments inflicted on him as coming from the hands of the One he loved above all things. In other words, he would not be in the state of soul which makes hell what it is; he would be in the place of damnation, but not in the state of damnation. Now hell is simultaneously the state and the place of damnation.

This may help us in some measure to realize what it will be for the damned to appear at the last judgment, naked, unclean and monstrously deformed as they are, in the midst of the splendor of the blessed angels and saints and to face our Blessed Lord in all the majesty of His dignity of God made Man and of Saviour of the world and of Supreme Judge of the living and the dead. This will prove so unbearable a torment to them that they will cry out to the mountains and the rocks: "Fall upon us and hide us from the face of Him that sitteth upon the Throne and from the wrath of the Lamb. . . for the great day of their wrath is come, and who shall be able to stand?" (Apoc. vi., 17.)

Hell has its place in the mystical order of which we spoke in the preceding chapter.

The state of the reprobate is due to the act of sin, and it is true that by sin the reprobate has taken himself, as far as in him lay, out of the mystical order. But the place of the reprobate, the hell

of the damned, is not of his making. It is due to the direct intervention of God; like all the other works of God, it shows forth His wisdom, His goodness and His sanctity. It forces the reprobate, in spite of himself, to fall back into the harmony of the universe and of the mystical order.

If there were no hell, God would be overcome by the sinner, good would be defeated by evil. There must be hell. Given the free will of angel and man and the wilful guilt of angel and man and the final impenitence of angel and man, hell is as unavoidable a necessity as heaven itself for the reward of the faithful mystic, angel or man. Hell is a part of the mystical order of the universe.

There is yet another aspect under which hell appears in the mystical order; I mean as a real demonstration of the extent of the love of God. All these reprobates will stand for ever as so many monuments of the unspeakable love of God. God has loved each one of these fallen spirits, each one of these reprobate men, with a personal love, most tender and strong and delicate. He has loved them from all eternity, and it was because He loved them that He created them. He made them in love, loving them and yearning to love them for all eternity, and that they also might love Him and be happy with the very happiness of God. This is proclaimed by their whole shattered being.

Just as a pitiful and yet majestic ruin, as, for instance, that of the Cathedral of Rheims to-day, proclaims through its broken arches and noble pillars still standing erect and mutilated statues and fragments of mouldings the vastness and magnificence of the building when it stood in its integrity and the skill and love with which its architect had planned and built and adorned it, so the incorruptible essence of the pure spirits and of the human souls of the reprobates and the persevering keenness of their intellects and the unbending strength of their wills and the nobility of their incorruptible bodies after the resurrection—all will bear witness to the splendid uses to which God in His love had destined them, having made them first to His own image and likeness and given them in His grace the means of intensifying this their likeness to God, to an untold degree, until at last they would have been assumed into the very glory of God and made a part of it.

THE NUPTIALS OF THE LAMB.

The Nuptials of the Lamb as they will be inaugurated after the last Judgment are to be the final stage in the marvelous evolution of mystical life.

Arrived at this point of the task I have mapped out for myself, I am like a mountaineer whose courage flags at the foot of the last

and sublimest, but most dizzy and difficult peak. The temptation is strong to abandon the attempt, and good reasons would not be wanting to justify such a course.

The questions shape themselves in my mind: Why should I try to say something on so difficult and inaccessible a subject? Whoever before tried to tell what will follow for the blessed upon the last judgment? Is it not madness and presumption for me to dare such a climb? Am I not courting disaster?

Again: Why not leave this to the secret teaching of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of the mystics, very few in number, who care to look forward so far into the mysterious future? Does it not baffle description? Does it not set at naught the possibilities of human language? Does it not defy even pure spiritual conceptions of the kind which are accessible to us in our pilgrimage? Fain would I cry out: O my brothers who have followed me thus far, do not press me to go on; I am but a man like you and a worse sinner, and have never gazed upon the divine realities on the other side of the veil. One who was so favored once even during his pilgrimage days could only stammer about it: "Eye hath not seen nor ear heard, nor the heart of man tasted, the things which God hath prepared for those who love Him." Not even now from what they see and experience could the blessed in Paradise give a description of the bliss that is to come after the present order of things has been abolished altogether and superseded by the pure Order of Glory at its highest. Is it not remarkable that the divine Revelation of Holy Scriptures, which tells us so much of what will happen between now and the last sentence of the Divine Judge, does not enter into details as to what will follow the words of Christ: "Come ye, the blessed of My Father, and possess the kingdom that has been prepared for you from the beginning of the world?" Might not I, then, for the purpose of this chapter content myself with saying:

It is simply ineffable?

And yet, somehow, this would not be satisfactory. It would seem little short of treason not to indicate at least in a few words the final stage of the wonderful mystical evolution. I have not led my reader so far and so high along the paths of the mystical doctrine to abandon him before reaching the most desired spot, before, at least, like Moses dying, casting a glance from afar upon the Promised Land not only of the actual bliss of the saints in heaven as it is now, but further at that of the after-judgment-Nuptials of the Lamb; just as Moses dying was given a view of the material Promised Land, and in it a further revelation of the king-

dom of Christ, the Catholic Church, of which the first was only the image and the prelude and a sort of faint beginning.

When what we call the end of the world shall have been accomplished, when the cursed ones shall have been banished for ever to their fiery prison and the blessed shall have been assumed into glory, are we to consider that the last stage of the grand evolution has been reached? We may if we like, still we must not call it an end, but rather a beginning. All that has gone before will appear then in its true light but as a preparation, a grand preparation indeed, but of infinitely magnificent realities, which are to last for ever. The mysteries of time had to be consummated ere the mysteries of eternity, the as yet unrevealed mysteries, could begin. These are all summed up in those entrancing words: The Nuptials of the Lamb.

"And I saw," says St. John in the Apocalypse, "a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth were gone, and the sea was now no more. And I, John, saw the holy city, the New Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. And I heard a great voice from the throne saying: Behold the tabernacle of God with men, and He will dwell with them, and they shall be His people, and God Himself shall be their God. And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and death shall be no more, nor mourning, nor crying, nor sorrow shall be any more, for the former things are passed away. And He that sat on the Throne said: Behold I make all things new." (Apoc. xxi., 1-5.)

Jesus, the Heavenly Bridegroom, will not be fulfilled until after the general resurrection and last judgment. Only then will the Church, His mystical Bride, come at last to the fulness of her charms. Only then also will each one of the blessed mystics be all that God wishes him to be. Till then the mystical body of Christ and every individual member of it is in the making. Till then Christ is not fulfilled, and the real feast cannot begin. Creation goes on as long as men are to be born. Incarnation has to be extended to every Christian that will be to the very end of the world. Redemption will have worked out its full and final effect only when death has been overcome in the resurrection of all flesh. And only when all the blessed shall have received their reward in soul and body, according to their works and the after-effects thereof, will sanctification shine in its full splendor.

The Church as it is now, even the Triumphant Church of the angels and saints, is yet but as a little maid compared to the perfect Bride God the Father desires her to become for the delights of His Son. "*Soror nostra parva*," says the chorus in the mystical

love drama of the Canticle of Canticles, "*Soror nostra parva et ubera non habet.*" This is equally true of the whole Church and of every individual predestined, whether already in heaven or yet on earth, whether of angelic or human nature; each one in regard to the Heavenly Bridegroom is at present but as a little maid, dearly loved indeed and very happy in his love, but not yet come to the rounded fulness of her charms, which are to give joy to the Beloved, nor to the fulness of her capacity for enjoyment of His mystical divine embraces. This twofold perfection will be realized in the Church as the mystical body of Christ and in each separate saint only after the winding up of the affairs of time by the grand assizes of the last judgment, not only because then each one will receive according to his works, but also because each one will then be assigned his definitive place in the eternal hierarchy of perfect charity. This could not have been done before.

The capacity for enjoyment of the blessed in heaven, angels and saints, immense as it is and immensely gratified, is far from having reached its utmost limit. It is not known to the blessed themselves; it will come to them as a revelation. Indeed they may take for themselves the words of St. Paul addressed to us: "*Nondum apparuit quid erimus.*" Even the angels of God each in his own capacity will receive, after the last judgment, an ineffable increase of personal nobility, brightness and joy, resulting from the fulfilment of Jesus in the Church and from the perfect loveliness of His Bride, for whom they employed themselves so diligently whilst time lasted and she was a pilgrim on earth.

It seems to me it would be wrong indeed to imagine that the joy of the blessed, even the essential joy of the Beatific Vision, as they now taste it, cannot be increased. It all depends on whether their capacity for knowing God and loving Him is susceptible of increase. We must remember that God is the Master of the feast yet to come of the eternal Nuptials of the Lamb. God is the Maker both of feast and guests, and He will fit them, the former to the latter and vice versa, by giving the finishing touch of His omnipotent hand to each one of the blessed on the occasion of the last judgment. There is a great difference between the lovely apple blossom in early spring and the full ripe fruit in russet autumn, the first fair promise and early token and then the glorious fulfilment. Thus the blessed as they are now and as they will be at the end of the world.

The Nuptials of the Lamb will not be barren. This Virginal marriage of the Son of God made Man, with His Predestined Bride, the Church of the blessed, will bear a fruit inferior only to that of the mystic marriage of the Virgin Mary with the Holy Ghost, which

was Christ Himself. This is the fruit it shall bring forth: *the perfect praise of the Creator.*

And this marvelous new birth will be of a begetting proper to God eternal, eternal not only in its endless duration, but eternal in its very mode. Eternally does God the Father say to His Son: "Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te;" eternally also and with infinite rapture of joy will the Lamb of God and His Bride, the Church of the predestined, say to the Perfect Praise of God: "Thou art my child; this day have I begotten thee."

In this chapter I have been greatly daring. O my God, Thou knowest what I have done, I have done for Thy dear love. Who could speak well of these mysteries, being as yet but dust and ashes! I prostrate myself in my nothingness and crave pardon for all my shortcomings, through Jesus Christ, my Lord and Saviour, the Bridegroom of the Church and of my soul and of every soul of good will. To whom be glory for ever!

CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST PART.

We are now arrived at the end of the First Part of my *Outlines of the Doctrine of the Mystical Life.*

This first part has been taken up with Preliminaries.

Before I could begin to treat of the two great occupations of the Mystical Life, which are Divine Contemplation and Saintly Action, the ground had to be cleared and the right notion itself of the Mystical Life vindicated. This I have now done at some length, more by way of statement and development of the traditional idea of mystical life than by way of controversy, trusting that the splendor of this traditional view will win back to itself many minds which have been led astray by more modern but narrow and unsatisfactory definitions. I do not think there is one of the thirty-nine foregoing chapters presenting some special aspect of the traditional notion which is not calculated to help to a more thorough and practical understanding of the workings of mystical life.

We ought now to be quite convinced that mystical life is simply life with God, conscious, sustained, loving attention to God, or the life of a fervent soul, with God, under the veil of faith, in the sanctuary of its own heart; in other words, the intercourse of mutual love between God and the fervent Christian.

I make bold to assert that only when thus understood in the light of the traditional notion of mysticism will the religion of Christ and the Catholic Church receive its true import. Alone traditional mysticism does justice to the idea of God to the idea of man, as these are presented to us in Divine Revelation. Alone, the mystic does full justice to his Christianity.

"*Hominem quæro*," "I seek a man," said the old cynic Diogenes, groping in full daylight with his lantern. He sought and sought in vain; he could never find a man until he found a true servant of God and there was none at Athens in his day, though it was the proud boast of that city that she was then the Queen of Intellectualism.

The mystic alone is worthy of the name of man, because he alone grasps the divine purpose of life. The others are simply beasts of burden, or beasts of prey, or beasts of pleasure, or beasts of pride, as we have seen.

The world is in labor of a definitive order which will be all mystical, all supernatural, all glorious and divinely blissful. The present world is in labor of the Heavenly Jerusalem, which is to receive all the predestined of God and to embrace one day within its precincts all this material universe. As man is a creature in the making, so is Heaven, and so also, for that matter, is hell. We are called upon to help. This material world of our probation is the workshop. We are pressed into the service of one side or the other, and none but the infant or the idiot is allowed to remain neutral. If one is not with Jesus, one is against Him. He, therefore, who shall not fit himself ultimately for mystical life in paradise will be a reprobate.

The mystic is really the only man on earth who knows how to enjoy himself and make the best of the present life. The others enjoy *death*, not life; for what they call life is death. God is life and the mystic alone is wise enough to enjoy God.

O that all men might become true mystics! O that it might be given me to allure them to this, the only true life, more and more, in displaying to their gaze the splendors of Divine Contemplation and the supernatural charms of Saintly Action, as I hope to do, with the help of God, in the second and third parts of these Outlines!

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GENOA'S CITY OF THE DEAD—FLORENCE AND ITS CATHEDRAL.

ONE bright summer's day an ancient pedagogue set out on a trip to Europe in quest of observation lessons. He visited many commercial centres and art centres; wandered among the shrine-towns of the Swiss Jura; climbed to the top of the statue of Notre Dame de la Garde, at Marseilles, wherein he looked down on the city, the countless *bastides* (white villas) on the surrounding hills, the harbor and the barren group of islands at the entrance with the Chateau d'If, where Mirabeau was one time confined, and then he looked out on that part of the Mediterranean visible from where he stood. He served Mass in the famous basilica at Lourdes as well as in the crypt under the main altar in St. Peter's, in Rome; he wandered through the catacombs of St. Cecilia's and St. Calixtus and contemplated the almost interminable Via Appia lined on either side with its venerable and historical ruins. He sat under the Leaning Tower at Pisa, admired the beautiful pulpit by Pisano, in the famous baptistry, and listened with pleasure to the wonderful echo to be heard in that famous building, and he looked with admiration at the swinging bronze lamp in the Cathedral, the swaying of which is said to have suggested to Galileo the idea of the pendulum. The Campo Santo, made up of fifty-three shiploads of earth brought from Mount Calvary to afford a resting place to the Crusaders, was also visited and the heroic deeds of the devoted men reposing there were brought to mind. But it would take a large volume to describe all these things and to dwell upon the lessons they teach. We shall have to confine ourselves to two cities—Genoa and Florence.

Leaving Marseilles by the 7.35 A. M. train, the tourist passes through one of the most delightful and picturesque portions of Southern Europe and arrives at Genoa at about 10.30 P. M. The railroad winds along the coast of the Mediterranean, and but for the too numerous tunnels through which it passes, and which mar the vision always at the wrong time, it would be one of the most pleasant journeys that could be made. The carriage road is therefore often preferred by persons having the time and going from Nice to Genoa. It runs in sight of the railroad most of the way and it has the advantage of affording the tourist a better opportunity of enjoying the magnificent scenery, which in some places displays a beautiful succession of bold and lofty promontories, deeply wooded hills and richly cultivated plains along the coast. In others the road passes through tall cliffs, which rise up from the surf of the Mediterranean and are topped with the ruins of venerable towers

erected long ago when the adjacent waters were infested with pirates. Along the road, too, are extensive olive plantations, with their dark green foliage. Here, too, may be seen luxuriant growths of figs, vines, citrons, oranges, oleanders, myrtles and, in the vicinity of San Remo, even palms are occasionally seen. Indeed, the journey is a rapid and continuous transition from cultivated fields, vineyards and orchards to the wildest and most picturesque scenes, with here and there a cottage or a chapel which seems to peek out from behind some tall cliff, at the foot of which the waters of the sea dash at times in foaming billows and with relentless fury. As we pass through Monaco we cast a hasty glance at the Casino, with its attractive *tapis vert*, often so fatal to the seeker after fortunes, and we are lost in admiration of the beautiful grounds by which that Casino is surrounded.

On reaching Genoa the first thing that strikes the visitor on emerging from the railroad station is the statue of Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of America. It was erected in 1862 and stands on a pedestal adorned with the prows of ships and laurel wreaths. The figure of the great discoverer, clad in the costume of the scholars of his time, stands upon an anchor and at his feet kneels the figure of America. At the four corners of the pedestal are allegorical figures of Religion, Geography, Strength and Wisdom, in sitting posture. Between these are four *bassi-relievi* of scenes from the life of Columbus. On the base of the monument two flying genii support a tablet with the inscription of dedication: *A Cristoforo Columbo, la Patria.*

The writer of this article lost no time in "doing" Genoa "la Superba"—the city of palaces. It is in the form of an amphitheatre, and upon the sides of the mountains which rise behind it are beautiful suburban palaces, villas and gardens. It has a population estimated at about 150,000, and is a place of much trade carried on with England, France and America. It is surrounded by a series of fortifications; the streets in the lower part of the city are generally very narrow and in days gone by were traversed almost exclusively by sedan chairs, but the new thoroughfares have a breadth sufficient to admit the passage of carriages. Some of them are very fine.

The palaces of Genoa, which have been too often described to require anything further from us, are really magnificent. They are all built of marble, with grand entrances, spacious arcades and staircases and lofty colonnades, and contain many superb galleries of paintings. To the student of art, the Renaissance palaces are of the greatest interest, as they are said to surpass in magnificence those of any other city of Italy.

From our hotel window we look out upon a lofty wall, with arcades, which surrounds the central part of the harbor. The marble platform of this wall, called the *Terrazzo di Marmo*, which one of the employes of the hotel tells us is *Venti passi di larghezza* (twenty paces in width), is a promenade much resorted to, especially in the early morning. We have no time to wander along its inviting walks, and we inquire at the hotel office for the "objects and palaces" of greatest interest to tourists who want to see everything in a few hours. We are directed to the public buildings, which are very fine, and a description of them can be found in any guide book. We want something that everybody has not seen or has overlooked. Our friends at the hotel are particularly anxious for us to visit the Campo Santo. At first the idea of visiting a cemetery when there were so many other places to see seemed like a loss of time, and then one has a feeling that he will be there long enough some day. Yielding, however, to the repeated importunities of our friends, we consented and have since thanked them more than once for the pleasure and surprise that was in store for us.

One of the most beautiful cemeteries in Europe and perhaps in the world is situated about a mile and a half from the city of Genoa on a slope of the valley of the Bisagno. It was founded or laid out in 1867, and contains one of the finest collections of monumental marble to be found anywhere. The Campo Santo, or *Cemetero di Staglieno*, consists of a quadrilateral structure inclosing an area of ground larger than Washington Square, Philadelphia, or Madison Square, New York. The ground thus enclosed is laid out in single graves, such as may be found in any churchyard, all of which are surmounted by neat marble crosses bearing simple inscriptions. In the centre of this enclosure is a colossal statue of Religion bearing the cross of salvation. The structure above referred to consists of two long galleries extending along the four sides of the cemetery. The external gallery is filled on either side with niches, in which bodies are placed laterally, after the manner of the old Roman Catacombs, and closed in by slabs bearing inscriptions and ornamented with wreaths of black beadwork or of immortelles, or both. The inner gallery, opening out upon the graveyard and composed of a series of arcades, is flanked on either side by works of art, which must be the work of Genoese sculptors and erected within four years after the purchase of the vault. Directly opposite the main entrance and on the upper side of the enclosure is the rotunda. The chapel is on the upper tier of the rotunda (for this structure has an upper and a lower tier). The rotunda is supported by sixteen monolithic columns of black marble, eight metres in length by three and a half in circumference. Around the walls in the interior

of the chapel are statues, one of Adam, by Grengo, bearing the inscription, "*Sol per mia colpa qui la morte impera*" ("Through my fault alone death reigns here"); another of Eve, by Villa, and others of Ezekiel, Moses, Daniel, the Immaculate Conception, St. John the Evangelist and St. Michael. Each of these statues is three metres high. In the centre of the chapel, which is sixty metres in circumference, is a magnificent altar; there are besides this four lateral altars. Three Masses are celebrated here every morning. The echo in this chapel is only equaled by that in the baptistry at Pisa. The chapel is lighted from above, and the light is softened by beautiful stained glass windows.

The façade of the chapel consists of a portico, supported by six marble columns, from which a noble flight of steps leads down to the terrace, forming the roof of the lower tier, which is laid out in attractive flower-beds. From here another broad flight of steps, flanked on either side by colossal allegorical statues, leads down to the graveyard already described, at the bottom of which are two slender columns, surmounted by urns resting on Corinthian capitals.

At the upper end of one of the inner galleries is the tomb of Mazzini, who died in 1872. It is embellished by a fine statue of the great Italian agitator. As a work of art it commands admiration. Near it is a lifelike statue of a little girl, some twelve or thirteen years of age, the idol of her parents. She is arrayed as when living and stands upon a pedestal, which bears an inscription so touching as to draw tears from the eyes of the beholder.

Among the monuments that have attracted the most attention may be mentioned that of the "Marchese Andrea Luigi Taliacarne, Italian Minister to the Court of Portugal." Upon a broad base stands an angel with upturned face, one hand resting on a medallion bearing a bust in relievo of the dead marquis. Besides the medallion is an owl and near it a plinth. Back of the angel and rising above it is a broken column partially draped by a mantle.

The R. Piaggio monument is one of F. Fabrini's finest works. It represents the Angel of Faith and Resurrection floating upon a cloud which rests upon the tomb. The admirable poise of these two figures, their exquisitely wrought faces, their correct anatomy and graceful attitudes, are objects of universal admiration.

The E. Piaggio monument is an entirely different conception. Sitting at the door of the vault is a figure of Time, his bare and brawny arms folded upon his breast, his head bowed in deep meditation and his ample wings folded about him. The face is evidently intended for a likeness of the deceased. Nearby at the base of the statue is a death head.

The Ghigione monument is a work into which the sculptor, Varni,

seems to have thrown his whole soul. An imposing marble sarcophagus, beautifully decorated on the sides and surmounted by a wreath of leaves, exquisitely cut, rests upon a block of granite. Kneeling by the side, with clasped hands and upturned face full of sorrow, tempered by religion, is the widow, with head uncovered. Her dress is plain and purely modern and hangs in graceful folds. Behind her, with one hand resting on the tomb, is her son. His dress is that of the young man of the day. In his left hand he holds a soft hat, the dent in the crown, caused by the manner in which it is held, being clearly discernible. I could stand for hours looking at it; it was so natural, so everyday.

Directly across from the tomb just described is the monument of Carlo di Casella. The form of the deceased lies on a sumptuous bier covered with a pall. Soaring above it is the half-draped figure of an angel, with outstretched wings and in the act of placing the trumpet of resurrection to its lips. The ribbon around an exquisitely wrought bouquet of flowers bears the touching inscription: "*A mio Murito. R. I. P.*"

The Pienovi monument executed by G. P. Villa in 1879 tells a story of the deepest sorrow and evidently of sudden death. Upon a sofa covered with a sheet lies the figure of the husband and father. The wife stands beside it in the act of raising the sheet and revealing the face of her dead husband. The look of terror upon her own countenance as she realizes her bereavement is more eloquent than words can express. A lighted torch burns at the head and foot of the couch. Raffaele Pienovi was "a prosperous merchant."

The Gati monument is another beautiful work of art. A marble vault, the iron door of which is reached by three steps, flanked by a pair of sepulchral lamps of beautiful design and sculptured with the figure of the butterfly, representing the escape of the soul, is ornamented with wreaths and garlands suspended on the walls on both sides of the door. The most striking features of the monument are two female figures (life-sized), one standing at the door, with clasped hands and downcast head; her hair hangs loosely down her back and her face wears an expression of the deepest sorrow. Sitting on the steps at her feet is another disconsolate figure, perhaps her mother. Her feet, like those of the standing figure, are bare; a veil hangs loosely from the back of her head, covering one shoulder and arm. The other arm, covered by a short sleeve, lies listlessly upon the lap, and the woe-begone face and bowed position of the body tell too plainly of the broken heart that beats within. Upon the walls enclosing the monument hang wreaths and other tokens of affection, one bearing the words "*A mio Padre*," the other the simple word "*Ricordo*."

Another monument bearing the inscription "*Famiglia di Lazzaro Patrone*" commands the attention of the passerby. Over the door of the vault are two medallion portraits of the father and mother of the family, supported by allegorical figures. Seated on the steps leading to the door of the vault is the disconsolate daughter, bare-footed, her long hair flowing down her back and her dress in disorder. She supports herself by resting one hand on the upper step; her left arm is around a little babe that looks up into its mother's face, unconscious of the sorrow that reigns within her bosom. Behind her, leaning against the vault, is a little girl, some four or five years of age; her little hands are clasped under her chin and her sorrowful eyes, like those of her mother, are looking up at the Angel of Consolation, standing at the other side of the vault door and pointing to the only home where true happiness is to be found.

The monument of Ludovico Pierano (No. 5,161) consists of four figures grouped upon the steps of the vault. With one foot resting on the ground and the other upon the first step to the right stands the figure of a young man clad in the old Roman toga, so arranged as to display the artist's knowledge of anatomy. One step higher, but on the left, is a beautiful female figure, evidently his sister, going up to deposit a wreath of immortelles upon the tomb of her father. Just above the young man is the figure of his mother, her entire form, like that of her daughter, enveloped in a Roman mantle. She is in the attitude of supplication, her hands clasped and her face turned upwards to the central figure of the group, the Angel of Hope, who is pointing heavenward. The lifelike faces of the figures, their natural positions and the graceful folds of their drapery, are highly creditable to the artist. It would be useless to attempt to describe the many admirable works of art which adorn these galleries. There is such a variety of design that one wonders how the artists have been able to express the same idea—death—in so many ways. The Da Costa monument, by Sacomanno, represents an adopted son standing by the tomb of his dead preceptor. The Venzano monument represents a weeping daughter kneeling at the altar beneath which her father sleeps his last sleep, and at the foot of which she is in the act of depositing a wreath of immortelles in token of her affectionate remembrance. The Paggio monument is a group of seven figures gathered around the death-bed of a father. The eldest son is leading the grief-stricken mother out of the room; three daughters and one son are at one side of the bed looking tearfully into the face of the dead father, while a fourth daughter sits in an armchair on the other side of the bed, her head resting upon her hand and weeping in silence. The effect of this group is very impressive.

But by far the finest work of art in this beautiful collection of mortuary marble is Varni's masterpiece, the Tomati monument. The recess in which it is situated is in the form of a chapel. Upon a marble tomb is a magnificent catafalque, richly decorated with doves with angels' heads. Upon the catafalque lies the effigy of Cristoforo Tomati, his head resting on a pillow. Kneeling upon the steps leading up to the sarcophagus is the figure of his pious daughter in the attitude of prayer. Her hands are clasped, her slender figure bends towards the middle of the tomb, where, standing upon a cloud, with both hands outstretched, one over the dead, the other over the living, appears the divine form of the risen Saviour, Christ the Comforter. Beneath His feet is the inscription: "*A Cristoforo Tomati la Figlia fidando in Dio Consolatore.*" Over the whole rises a dome, supported by pillars and pilasters with ornamental capitals. Above these pillars, on a band encircling the dome, are the words: "*Ego sum resurrectis et vita.*" The expression on the faces of the figures, their easy and graceful attitudes and the delicately chiseled work upon the flowers and upon the ruffles and lace of the lady's dress are worthy of admiration.

It is a matter of surprise that tourists rarely mention this beautiful cemetery, and that guide-books, when they do refer to it, do so in such a manner as to deter rather than invite the tourist. Among the artists whose works attract the most attention in this Campo Santo may be mentioned Varni, Villa, Benetti, Rubalto, Sacco-mano and Paernio. It would be an endless task to attempt to describe the many beautiful monuments which abound in this magnificent city of the dead or to dwell upon the touching inscriptions through which the Italians expressed their deep sorrow for the dead and implore the prayers of the living for their eternal repose.

* * * * *

From Genoa one takes a run to Florence—"Tirrenze da Bella," as its inhabitants love to call it, and with much justice, too, as it is one of the most delightful cities in Italy. It is situated on both sides of the Arno. A short walk through the quaint streets carries you back four hundred years; a stroll on *Lung Arno* (along the Arno) and you are *dans le mouvement*. In one street one is startled by confronting the spot where once stood the house of Amerigo Vespucci; in another he jostles against the *élite* out for a refreshing promenade. The styles of dress do not seem to have changed much from the days of Dante and continued down to our own days, and even in our American cities. In his *Purgatorio* (Canto xxiii.) he says:

"When from the pulpits shall be loudly warned
The unblushing dames of Florence, lest they bare

Unkerchef'd bosoms to the common gaze.
What savage women hath the world e'er seen,
What Saracens, for whom there needed scourge
Of spiritual or other discipline,
To force them walk with covering on their limbs."

But this does not mean that *all* modesty had disappeared either in Florence or in New York.

Florence is noted for its beautiful and priceless art treasures and its historical associations. How the lover of art is delighted by the sight of paintings by Michael Angelo, Raphael, Titian, Andrea del Sarto, Correggio and the inimitable terra-cotta works of Lucca della Robbia!

As we wander through the streets of Florence we see numerous statues of great men, notably that of Cosimo I., by Giovanni di Bologna, with figures of Justice and Power, by Danti, and that of Dante, by Pazzi. If one takes a view of the city from San Miniato about sunset, one shall see the Val d'Arno bathed with mellow golden light; a dreamy vapor softens the outlines of the distant Apennines; the sparkling Arno may be traced through the green meadows far away to the westward, whilst immediately before us lies the city, with its countless towers and spires and domes, all glittering with the glory of the setting sun. Prominent among these latter are the domes of the Cathedral and the Campanile, the former rising to a height of 387 feet and the latter to a height of 292 feet.

It is to this magnificent Cathedral that we shall confine ourselves for the present, for we are just in time to witness and to participate in the ceremonies of the fifth centenary of Donatello and the inauguration of the façade of the church which was only unveiled and blessed on May 12, 1887.

The inauguration of the façade of the Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore (so called from the lily which figures in the arms of Florence), the most grandiose work commenced, continued and completed since the political *renaissance* of the country, is the triumphant realization of the desire of centuries. To Florence this metropolitan church is not only the greatest temple erected by the faith and zeal of its former inhabitants, but it is, moreover, a page in its history recorded in marble. The transformation of the ancient Church of the Santa Reparata into the present Cathedral was the constant desire of those charged with this department of public works. Giovanni Villani relates that during the year 1294 the Florentines decided to "renovate the chief church of Florence; to enlarge it, to build it all of marble and with carved figures." The Guelphs

were in the ascendancy at the time, and the Ghibellines, with Dante Allighieri on their side, had been discomfited at Compaldino, and the victors devoted themselves to the extension of commerce, the encouragement of progress and the cultivation of the arts.

It appears certain that the corner-stone of the renovated temple was laid in 1296 in the presence of Cardinal Pietro Valeriani, sent expressly for this occasion by Pope Boniface VIII., and of Bishop Francesco Monaldeschi. The models and designs for the restoration of the church were given by Arnolfo di Cambio, "capo-maestro" of the "commune," and were returned to him with the injunction to "put all possible magnificence into the work." For the first few years after the beginning of the work it was pushed forward with much vigor, a fund having been created to meet the necessary expenses, but the death of Arnolfo, in 1310, for a time suspended operations. It was resumed and carried on expeditiously from 1318 to 1319, when it was again suspended, either for want of the necessary funds or because of the political troubles between the factions of the Neri (the Blacks or Guelphs) and the Bianchi (or Ghibelines), which in that year drenched the city with blood through the hostilities of their powerful families, the Cerchi and the Donati. In 1331 the work was once more resumed.

On April 12, 1334, Giotto di Bondone da Vespignano was named master of the works upon the church, which was still called Santa Reparata. Giotto, who was born in 1265, was already sixty-nine years of age when he assumed the task begun by Arnolfo. In July, 1334, he laid the foundations of the Campanile that was completed after his death by Gaddi. But poor Giotto had not many years left him to devote to the great work entrusted to him. In 1337, at the age of seventy-two, he passed away and operations were again interrupted. In 1355 Francesco Talenti became the architect, and Arnolfo's original conception was expanded, and the nave, with its spacious vaulting, as well as the choir apse, were begun from Talenti's designs. The exterior was also further ornamented in harmony with the original details. For some years following the work dragged along so slowly that Talenti was replaced by Giovanni di Lappo Ghini. This was about 1363.

The erection of this magnificent structure dragged along for years, under one architect and then another, until it grew in proportion and in artistic wonders. Marble and bronze and paint successively added their beauties until, in 1432, the older name of Santa Reparata gave way to the present name of Santa Maria del Fiore. In 1408 the name of Donatello appears for the first time upon the records of the church as being engaged upon the statue of King David. In 1428, the renovated temple having sufficiently

advanced, the central tribune was dedicated to San Zanobius, Bishop and patron of the city, and it was decided that his remains, found in 1330, be placed in a tomb, to be executed by Lorenzo di Bartoluccio. The translation of the body of San Zanobius from the catacomb in which it had been deposited in 1330 to Brunelleschi's new subterranean chapel was accomplished with great solemnity in May, 1439. It happened that in the same year Pope Eugenius IV. had called a council in Florence to consider the union of the Greek and Latin churches, and among those who attended the council was John Palæologus, Emperor of Constantinople. The ceremony of the translation was consequently honored by the Pope, the brother of the Emperor, the Fathers of the Council, the Patriarch of Jerusalem and of Grado, and by a large number of Greek and Latin Bishops, who were welcomed to Florence on this occasion. Six Bishops carried the casket containing the remains. The bronze shrine in which they were placed was finished in 1441 and was the work of Lorenzo Ghiberti, and consists of three scenes in basso-relievo. The centre one represents the raising from the dead of the child of a French lady said to have been effected by the saint in a village of the Albizzi. Of those on each side, one represents the resurrection of a man crushed under a car, and the other, a man carrying a relic of San Zanobius, sent by St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan.

In August, 1417, attention was given to the cupola, and the plans called for were presented on December 12; there were sixteen. Preference was given to those of Filippo di Ser Brunelleschi and Lorenzo Ghiberti. It appears that another meeting to decide upon the plans was called in 1418, when the work was given to Brunelleschi, who, after a third submission of plans, was permitted to begin the work. In 1432 Brunelleschi was authorized to prepare the designs for the lantern, and on August 30, 1436, the cupola was finished and blessed by the Bishop of Fiesole. The first stone of the lantern was placed in 1445, but when the work was completed to a goodly height, Brunelleschi fell sick and died on April 16, 1446, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and asking it as a great favor not only by word of mouth, but in his will, that no change whatsoever be made in his plans in the completion of the structure.

On January 27, 1600, the lantern was struck by lightning and it was hurled down into the Via de Servi with such noise and confusion that the inhabitants thought the world had come to an end. It was replaced in 1602 on a much larger scale by Bernardo Berontalenti. This dome is the largest in the world; it is 300 feet high, with the lantern 352 feet. The ascent is very interesting, as, besides the fine view afforded from the top, a very good idea of the con-

struction may be obtained. After climbing 463 steps, the tourist, if at all venturesome, may go up 57 steps more to the cross on the summit.

Let us say a word or two about the Campanile, that wonderful structure which rests beside the Cathedral and which forms such a harmonious *ensemble* with it. We have said that it was begun by Giotto on July 28, 1334, and that he died soon after in 1336. Andrea Pisano next took charge of the work, but it soon languished and finally ceased entirely, and it was not until 1351, when, under the direction of Francesco Talenti, it was resumed and carried on in accordance with the original designs of Giotto. In 1387 it was under roof, and finally, in 1437, the great Campanile was completed. Besides the model for the Campanile, Giotto left the design of all the historical scenes in marble which adorn the lower part. Some of these sculptures are by Pisano and five are by Lucca della Robbia. At the corners may be seen a number of statues, the works of Nicola d'Arezzo, Andrea Pisano and Lucca della Robbia. Three figures of the Prophets, by Donatello, are on the side toward San Giovanni.

The Campanile terminates with a terrace surrounded by a marble parapet. On the last of the five stories into which it is divided by architectural lines there is a large tri-formed window which is surmounted by a cusp and enriched with beautiful tracery in the Italian Gothic style. The height of the Campanile is 292 feet, and it is regarded as one of the finest works of its kind in existence. All the five stories of which it consists are beautifully and richly decorated with marble blocks of various colors. On the west side are four statues, the first three of which are by Donatello. They represent St. Matthew, David, the celebrated "Zuccone," or baldhead, and Solomon. The fourth, Obediah, is the work of Nanni di Bartolo (1420). On the side are Habakkuk, Abraham and Isaac, by Rosseo and Donatello, and two Patriarchs, by Nicolo d'Arezzo. On the north side are Sybils and Prophets. Further down on the sides of the tower we come to the bassi-relievi of Giotto, Pisano and Lucca della Robbia, representing the Seven Cardinal Virtues, the Seven Corporal Works of Mercy and the Seven Sacraments. In the lower series is a curious representation of the development of the human race from the Creation to the climax of Greek science. Among these may be seen the creation of Eve, Adam and Eve at Work, Dwellers in Tents, Astronomers, a Rider, Weaving, Navigation, Agriculture, etc., while the liberal arts are represented by figures of Phidias, Apellis, Donatus, Orpheus, Plato, Aristotle, Ptolemy, Euclid and a Musician. The ascent to the top of the Campanile is by 414 steps, and the view obtained of the surrounding coun-

try, studded with beautiful villas, amply repays the tourist for his trouble. Here, too, may be seen the pillars on which, according to Giotto, it was proposed to raise a spire 100 feet high, but the project was abandoned by Gaddi. So great an impression did the splendor of this Campanile produce upon the Emperor Charles V. that he declared that it should be preserved under a covering of glass.

The new façade of the Duomo, as has been already stated, was uncovered in May, 1887, a month that will be memorable in the history of "beautiful Florence" because of the celebrations which seemed to cluster around the crowning glory of Florentine art, namely, the commemoration of the fifth centenary of Donatello and the reinterment of Rossini,¹ the well-known composer of operas. The glory of Santa Maria and Fiore had occupied the minds of the Italian people for many months. After the lapse of *five centuries* it was indeed a great event to have completed the noble design of Brunelleschi.

From the day of its foundation, at the close of the thirteenth century, the grand Cathedral has had a special hold upon the people of Italy, and contributions for its completion have poured in from all parts and from all sorts and conditions of people. Far back, in the year 1294, Arnolfo del Cambio, who superintended the work down to 1310, the time of his death, was authorized, as we have already seen, to make a design that would "harmonize with the opinion of many wise men." On a bright May morning in 1887 the people of Florence saw the fulfillment of this command. Three great curtains slowly slid down on their ropes, uncovering, strip by strip, the mass of delicately carved and inlaid marbles, the multitude of statues, the gold and the mosaics, until the whole of the magnificent work stood shining in the sunlight. While the richest and most delicately tinted marbles have been used, great care has been taken to keep the new work in harmony with the other walls of the Cathedral. To insure this it became necessary to remove many of the old slabs of the *intersiata*, where the marble had been worn away by decay or damaged by the action of the weather. It may be judged by this partial renovation how admirable was the effect of the whole when the coverings were removed. There was exposed to the enthusiastic and admiring masses the *banoro di poesia*, a vast marble tracery of fruits, flowers, garlands, wreaths, mingled with lovely faces, the work of innumerable sculptors and artists, all of whom undertook it as a labor of love, many of them, like Settigagno, accepting only their daily expenses. Nor was this disinterestedness limited to the noble army of workmen. The beau-

¹ The remains of Rossini had previously been interred in the Cemetery of Père la Chaise, Paris.

tiful, rich, variegated marbles of Senavezza, Sienna and Prato were presented as gifts and in many instances their transportation was paid. Florence had made every preparation for the great occasion and the City of the Lily was rendered still more attractive by the variety of costumes which may still be seen in the remote provinces. From the wooded glens of the Apennines, from the Alban hills and rugged Calabria came pilgrims to gladden their hearts by the sight of the crowning glory of Florence—the completion of the Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore.

But before we undertake to describe the grand rejoicings, which lasted some two weeks, let us inquire a little into the history of the façades.

Arnolfo del Cambio, when renovating the Church of Santa Reparata, doubtless intended to decorate it with a façade of becoming architectural magnificence. A rectangular fragment of a green-and-white marble incrustation was found at a comparatively recent date, and from it the modern architect was enabled to determine the character of Arnolfo's work and to complete it. A *facciata*, subsequent to Arnolfo's and embellished with numerous statues and erroneously attributed to Giotto, is minutely described by Rondinelli. In 1588 the façade was removed with a view to replacing it with a new one, but the project was not carried out. The Cathedral was thus left without a façade and was then decorated and frescoed by way of supplying the defect. On April 22, 1860, King Victor Emmanuel laid the foundation stone of the new façade. It was blessed by the Archbishop and a vast concourse of people joined in the hymn of thanksgiving, but the work was not begun in earnest until the fall of 1875. Emilio di Fabris became the architect, his designs having been accepted over those of thirty-three others. It is to be regretted that, like nearly all the architects of the Middle Ages, and of the great artists who have worked on Santa Maria del Fiore, he did not live to see the completion of his work. He labored with zeal and intelligence, and year after year the walls of the new façade grew in proportion and in beauty.

On December 28, 1879, at the desire of the committee in charge, that portion of the work in the Via de Martelli which had been covered with exquisitely chiseled marble was exposed to view, with the models of the projected statuary, and the delight of the Florentine authorities and of the people in general was manifested in the praise bestowed upon architect and builder. In the following year Professor Augusto Conti had perfected his models for the sculptured decorations, statues and bas-reliefs, which were intrusted to competent hands. The uncovering of this section of the façade created the greatest eagerness for the completion of the work, and great

efforts were made to secure funds for its vigorous and uninterrupted prosecution. De Fabris was delighted with the success of the financial arrangements and he redoubled his efforts with a will. He completed his designs to the most minute details and wrote out full directions as to what he desired to have done. This was very fortunate and was perhaps due to a presentiment that his end was not far off. Be it as it may, the unfortunate De Fabris died on June 28, 1883, but not before the work had reached such a point as to preclude the necessity for designs from other architects and thus rob him of the fame he had so justly acquired.

Before his death De Fabris had sought the coöperation of an artist possessed of heart and intelligence, and these qualities he found in Professor Luigi del Moro, to whom was now intrusted the prosecution of the work. On December 6, 1883, the façade, now covered with marble up to the crowning-point, was exhibited to the public with solemn ceremonies in the presence of Prince Eugenio di Savoia Carignano, President of the Deputation, of all the ecclesiastical and civil authorities and of the citizens in general. At a signal from the Prince the veil dropped to the sound of martial music.

In 1885 the architectural work was completed. In August, 1886, the tabernacle² and the central bas-reliefs were placed in position and in October the mosaic of the lunetta. The work was now entirely finished. The inauguration, which it was intended to have celebrated that autumn, was postponed until spring, so as to join with it two other grand events which the people of that beautiful city were anxious to celebrate and to which we shall refer further on.

It is hardly necessary to go into an architectural description of the new façade of Santa Maria del Fiore; we shall therefore confine ourselves to a brief reference to the decorations which Professor Augusto Conti, at the invitation of the architect De Fabris, executed in a symbolic manner, in accordance with the title of the church. Conti designed the fundamental theme of the sculptures as follows: The Old and the New Testament, the Church, Christian Civilization, Letters, the Fine Arts, the Useful Arts, the Sciences, Italy, and especially Florence. All were to do homage to the Mother of Our Redeemer. This conception was approved by the Archbishop as to its religious aspects, and by Professor Nicolo Barabino with regard to the artistic.

Prominent among the works of art, and in keeping with the name of the church, is a statue by Tito Sarrocchi of the Madonna, *Regina*

² Tabernacle, in architecture, is an ornamental recess or structure of ornamental character sheltering, enclosing, surmounting and surrounding something.

Apostolorum, with the Infant Saviour, which may be seen on the tabernacle over the central door. The Twelve Apostles are disposed of as follows: On the right of the Madonna, St. Peter, by Emilio Gallori; on the left is St. John, by C. Trocchi; then, again on the right, we find St. Bartholomew, by C. Fantacchiotti, and on the left St. James the Less, by A. Bortone; the other Apostles, by celebrated artists, follow in regular order. Directly under the tabernacle and still over the central door is a grand bas-relief, the work of Professor A. Passaglia, representing the Blessed Virgin as the Protectress of Christianity, the country and the people, surrounded by figures recalling historical events; the Gonfaloniere, the Priors of the Florentine Republic who organized the Trustees of Santa Maria and del Fiore; Pope Calixtus III., who preached the Crusade; Christopher Columbus, who discovered America; St. Catharine of Sienna, who persuaded Gregory XI. to return to Rome and leave the See of Avignon; Pius V., who formed the league against the Turks which resulted in the naval victory at Lepanto. Below these figures is an altar on which rests the Immaculate Lamb, and on each side of the altar are the figures of Queen Esther and the Prophetess Deborah. At the lower corner of the bas-relief are sculptured figures of Jacob and Judah, from whose lineage, according to Scripture, came Jesus and Mary. Immediately outside of the triangular framework enclosing this scene there are three sculptures on one side and four on the other in bas-relief, by Giovanni Giovanetti, representing the Seven Priests who sounded the trumpet through Jericho, and which, according to Conti, are symbolical of the fervent prayer and faith of priests and people. On the final pinnacles of the two pilasters are the statues of Leo the Great, by R. Romanelli, and of Pope Gregory VII., by Fumagalli—the former dear to all Christians for having arrested Attila under the walls of Rome, and the other for his persevering and victorious defense of the liberty of the Church. The four statues of Pope Calixtus I., Celestine I., St. Jerome and St. Bonaventure, on the corner columns of the pilasters, and sculptured by Dante Soldini, are expressive of the doctrines of the Church in all times.

Moses, David, Solomon and Isaiah, sculptured in bas-relief on four medallions, two on the right and two on the left, represent the four principal Prophets who foretold the birth of the Blessed Virgin.

The mosaic of the lunette of the principal or central portal, and designed by Professor Nicolo Barabino, represents Our Saviour crowned King—*Rex Regum et Dominus Dominantium*—with the Madonna and St. John the Baptist, St. Ann, St. Lawrence, St. Mary Magdalene de Pazzi, St. Juliana Falconieri and the Blessed Juliana de Cerchi, all protectors of Florence, and in the attitude of prayer.

The half-figure in bas-relief in the architrave near the lunette represents St. Joseph, the Spouse of Our Blessed Lady, and is the work of Passaglia, as are also those in the seven medallions in the archway, representing St. Andrew Corsini, the Blessed Hippolitus Galantica, St. Philip Benizzi, San Miniato, St. John Gualberto, St. Philip Neri and St. Romuold, all Florentines.

On the summit of the pointed archway over the side door on the right is a statue of Aaron as High Priest, by G. B. Tassara. In the archway is a sculpture in bas-relief, *Ecce Homo*, by Passaglia. In the triangles on the front is a bas-relief, with angels and the symbols of the Passion, by Giovanni Paganucci. In the tabernacle, on the pillars, are two statues, Adam and Eve, by Torelli. The lunette designed by Nicolo Barabino represents the Triumph of Christianity, and portraits of the men most prominently associated with charitable works in Florence may be recognized.

The statue on the front of the left portal, by Tassara, represents Samuel, the ancestor of Mary. The *Mater Dolorosa* in the centre is by Gallori; the angels with flowers, in the triangles, are by Trocchi; the statues of Abraham, Sarah and Isaac, symbolizing obedience and sacrifice, were modeled by Cecioni; the mosaic in the lunetta of this portal, and designed by Barabino, represents the triumph of faith and the sanctification of labor, and other figures representing the mechanical and fine arts. A prominent figure at the extreme right of the building and nearly over the side door is that of Cardinal Valeriani, who blessed the foundations of the Duomo on September 8, 1296. Near it are the statues of Bishop Agostino Tinacci, who blessed the first pilaster on July 5, 1357; Pope Eugenius IV., who blessed the Duomo in which the Ecumenical Council of Florence, whence emanated the decree for the union of the Greek and Latin Churches, on July 6, 1439, and St. Anthony, Archbishop of Florence, who blessed the old façade about the year 1446. In the fourteen apartments of the upper zone are figures in bas-relief by Cimabue, Fra Angelico, Andrea del Sarto, Fra Bartolomeo, Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci, Francia, Andrea Pisano, Mino da Fiesole, Onagagna, Lucca della Robbia, Donatello, Michael Angelo and Civitali. On the architrave of the main door are the arms of Pope Pius IX., who gave 3,000 lire and a valuable mosaic, which was sold for the benefit of the church, and made in all 12,666 lire (or \$2,533). The bronze doors were designed by Luigi del Moro.

It would be an endless task for us to attempt to describe every work of art to be found on this marvelously beautiful façade, or to do justice to the merits of the master minds whose genius and generous impulses found expression in the mighty work they undertook. Religion, patriotism, genius and generosity all combined to

perfect plans conceived and designed two hundred years before the discovery of America by Columbus, and completed only towards the close of the nineteenth century. It was no wonder, then, that Florence was beside itself with joy when this work of centuries was ready to be unveiled. No wonder her citizens were anxious to associate with their celebration of this event the translation of the remains of Rossini and the fifth century of Donatello. Happy is it for a nation when its people possess a heart which beats quicker at sight of the trophies and triumphs, not of war, but of peace.

As we looked out upon the scene before us, we could not help thinking of the effect of this celebration on the American mind. It was a singular combination—the unveiling of the façade, the fifth century of Donatello, a grand historical procession and ball and a reproduction of a fourteenth century tournament, varied by such nineteenth century features as bicycle races, stenographic meetings and hygienic congresses.

The committee of arrangements had decided that the procession should represent the reception by the authorities of the Commonwealth of Amadeus of Savoy, who visited Florence in 1367, on his way back from the East, after defeating the Bulgarians and reinstating John Palæologus in Constantinople. The part of Amadeus VI., the "Green Count," was offered to one of the princes of the blood. The magnificent pageant will remain in the minds of the Florentine people despite the little historical blunders noticeable here and there. But it was not, after all, a mere splendid masquerade, for it contained an element of reality, of spontaneity, which gave it a power over the imagination which the most successful dramatic display would fail to awaken. Looking down the lists of the guilds, of the town authorities, and even of those of some of the invited guests at the ball, one had, on seeing the names of Strozzi, Pucci, Ridolfi, Pazzi, Altoviti, etc., the feeling that these might really be genuine Florentine merchants and nobles who stood on the dais before the Palace of the Signori and were marshaled in the great square, a brilliant mass of colors, with their horsemen in mail, their trumpeters and heralds, and thus marched along, standards waving and piccoli shrieking under the windows of old houses, hung as of yore with banners and garlands and brocades. This strange effect, almost dreamlike and magical because of its curious mixture of reality and fiction, was even greater when the scene was taken in detail.

The captain of the Light Horse of the Commonwealth was a Strozzi. The gonfaloniere bore the same name as the great historian, Francesco Guicciardini. The captain of the people was a descendant of that Caponi who said to Charles VIII., "If you sound your trumpets, we shall ring our bells." The Podesta, chosen

now as then, among foreigners, and riding in cloth-of-gold, with his page and his shield-bearer by his side, was the representative of that family of Carraras of Padua whom the Venetians did to death. The three splendid horsemen, two in armor, with high-figured crests like those of the Scaligiere at Verona, and one in a rose-colored cloak embroidered with heraldic devices and rose-colored shovel-hat surrounded by a coronet, were three Gherardesas, whose prototypes, three brothers like themselves, could not have looked grander at the real coming of Amadeus VI., five hundred years ago. Again, one of the most striking figures of the pageant, who looked in his exquisite dress like one of the beautiful young villians—half Prince Charming, half Bluebeard—of Matarano's *Chronicles*, was Prince Belgiojoso d'Este, in the character of his ancestor, Alberigo da Barbiano.

The procession showed to great advantage on May 17, the last day of the festivities at the Torneo, or Tournament, at the Porta alla Croce, when youth and beauty contemplated deeds of valor with all the interest and delight which it did centuries ago.

One leaves Florence with the greatest regret. The fact that it was the foster-mother of art, the centre of the Renaissance; that within her sheltering walls were born Dante, Benvenuto Cellini, Cimabue, Giotto, Boticelli, Donatello, Gaddi, Fra Filippo Lippi, Andrea della Robbia and a host of other great men, makes one feel loath to leave a place so beautiful, though historical and so full of Old World legends.

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WAR AND THE PRAYER OF PETITION.

WE know the case only too well—the downcast soul suffering from the disappointment of unanswered prayer. It is no monopoly of wartime. Every experienced pastor has had to deal with it frequently. But wartime has enhanced the difficulty and brought it out into clearer and more poignant articulation. The desolation of homes, the loss of fathers, sons, husbands and brothers, and the bereavement of widows and parents—all this has served to make the question acute. And the pastor is called upon to examine his own position in the situation. Is he ready with the right and opportune word?

Let us begin with a few concrete instances.

A young man has just finished his collegiate course and entered upon his first appointment in the teaching profession. Soon afterwards he discovers that he has contracted the disease of phthisis. The specialist tells him that, with proper treatment, it can be completely arrested. A cure is effected, but after six months' work he breaks down again. And so his case goes on, alternate improvements and relapses, until he despairs of all medical treatment and betakes himself to prayer and supernatural remedies. Once again it is the same story of alternate improvements and relapses. He concludes that God does nothing for him, takes no interest in him, and consequently he gives up his prayers altogether.

Again, a young girl is engaged to an officer in the army. He is ordered to the front and her anxiety begins. She prays every day and many times a day that her beloved may be kept safe. He spends months in the trenches and writes to her regularly. Yes, God hears her prayer. A battle takes place, in which his regiment is almost wiped out, but he escapes without a scratch. That is conclusive proof that God answers her prayers and intends to bring the loved one safe home again. A few days later a shot from a sniper spoils everything. A short telegram from the War Office tells the poor girl that the worst has happened. What does God mean? What purpose could He have in taking away one who was so necessary? God is cruel and does not answer prayers.

Or to take a more philosophical soul. A young religious wants to be sent to the university. He appeals in all faith to St. Anthony, and in due time his superiors are inspired to fulfill his wish. This experiential knowledge of answered prayer gives him great confidence, and he tells everybody how true it is that, if only you have faith enough, you can get anything you ask for. The time at length comes for him to take his final degree. It is the crown of his labors and the evidence to his superiors that he has spent his time at the

university well. He has more faith than ever in St. Anthony. And, believing, he prays. But he has been overworking, and as a consequence of a tired head, he comes to grief in the examination. He is too pious to suggest that God has not heard his prayers. So he concludes that you cannot tell from the result whether your prayer is answered or not.

When we come to think of it, it is those who have been taught to pray most who feel the difficulty keenest. But then the question arises whether there has not been a want of proportion in the matter of their religious instruction. It would seem that one important precept concerning prayer—perhaps the most important—has been inculcated at the expense of others. "Ask and you shall receive, seek and you shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you"—this is the precept of which everybody has need. But then there are other precepts which ought to supplement this, and it is precisely these that are now wanted for the enlightenment and consolation of those who think that their prayers have been unheard.

I say deliberately "enlightenment and consolation"—enlightenment first and consolation afterwards. In dealing with this difficulty we are up against the ultimates of life and experience. A kindly shake of the hand will be very welcome in its way. A gift in money or kind would be a wonderful consolation to many. A recommendation to submit to God's decrees would do some good. But if there is to be anything more than a superficial or temporary palliative, there must be an appeal to reason. Man is an emotional animal, an animal capable of giving and receiving love, but above all things, he is a rational animal. And in a matter which enters so deeply into his soul, his reason must be sufficiently enlightened. True, he cannot fathom the depths of the divine counsels, but he can be made to see the fallacies of objections against them.

We begin, then, with an ultimate—the supremacy of God's will. The only hope of finding any meaning in life at all is by looking towards the final goal. That is found to be the praise and glory of God. That is what God ultimately wills. Whatever happens in the whole of creation, whether by God's direct action or by His permission, tends towards His final praise and glory. He allows men to have a certain choice as to how that glory will be attained. He says in effect: "You may serve Me lovingly, in which case you will enjoy heaven and manifest My mercy; or you may serve Me unlovingly, going to perdition, but nevertheless manifesting My justice. I created you for a given purpose. Whichever way you take it, My will is accomplished."

The very first step in our intellectual as well as in our moral salvation is an acknowledgment that, with regard to God, we are here to serve Him. Let any other thesis creep into our minds unawares,

let us just once get hold of the idea that somehow we come first and God second—that, for instance, He ought to ask us whether we will be created or not—and at once the solution of the problem has been rendered impossible. We are beginning with insufficient premises. The absolute supremacy of God's will is the foundation of all clear thinking in this matter.

And although this is an ultimate truth, yet it is not very far removed from the difficulty which is at hand. Our Lord Himself prayed for His own agony to be removed, but He prayed in this wise: "My Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from Me. Nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou."

The second ultimate which we have to recognize is the absolute goodness of God. Here again we may not be content with merely saying that God is absolutely good. We must enter into the truth somewhat and see what it implies. It implies that all goodness outside God is an overflow from the divine abundance. There can be no possible inflow of goodness to God from without, no accession of perfection to Him. Therefore, if we find in ourselves tender thoughts for others, gentle judgments with regard to the weak and erring, a sense of indignation at wrong committed and a strong desire to put things right, we must acknowledge that all these fine feelings exist in God, too, but in a more eminent way than in us. He that hath made the ear, shall He not hear, and He that hath made the eye, shall He not see?

Closely allied to this ultimate there are the further facts that God is absolute truth and absolute beauty. Being absolute truth, there can be no possible contradiction in him. If He seems to answer the Germans who pray for one thing and also the British who pray for the opposite, the seeming contradiction is only seeming. So also is it with the divine beauty. Our reason tells us that since God has every possible perfection, He must be supremely beautiful. If therefore at times God seems to show an ugly side to His character, we must rationally conclude that it is only seeming and that the defect is due to our limited vision.

When the mind has been enlightened to these truths, the next thing is to train the will to act in conformity with them. And the act by which this is most efficiently wrought is the prayer of adoration. The first purpose of all sacrifice is adoration. It is an acknowledgment to God that He is what He is—absolute Creator and Master of all things. But in order that the act shall be prompt, spontaneous and frequent, we adore God's dominion together with His goodness. We see Him not only powerful to bring rain and sunshine as He wills, but also good and kind to arrange the details for our higher interests.

Moreover, by thus placing God's dominion and goodness before

us as objects of adoration and praise, we cultivate a habit of mind which will be extremely practical and useful when we come to concrete difficulties. We are only too apt to judge God's actions by the standard of our own, whereas the right way is to judge our own by the standard of God's. And this can only be done effectually and fruitfully when the habit has been formed of adoring God's dominion and goodness.

Thus we should ever regard the prayer of adoration as important as the prayer of petition. It would be well if every prayer of petition were preceded by a prayer of adoration. That would seem to be the method taught by Our Lord when He said: "Thus therefore shall you pray, 'Our Father Who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name.'" The revelation of God's fatherhood is a revelation of all the goodness and kindness that the human mind could ever dream about. The revelation of God's home in heaven, symbolized as distant beyond the stars, is a revelation of God's absolute transcendence. We are inclined to say the "Our Father" too glibly, passing over the tremendous significance of the opening sentences. But try the experiment. Let the soul who has lost confidence in prayer resolve to say the "Our Father" once—slowly—and as never before. I have known some very gratifying results from this simple remedy.

Having insisted on the ultimates, we may next descend to the proximates. Let us take the more widespread difficulty first—the case of those who have asked so often for specific things and have invariably met with disappointment.

The adoration of God's dominion, together with His goodness, will have strengthened the conviction that somehow all God's ordinances are good. But that is largely a matter of faith, and faith seeks to understand. Very well. God wills the salvation of every man. He gives graces to every man sufficient for his salvation. He would give him nothing which positively hindered it. Consequently no man ought to ask for anything except under the condition that it helps to save his soul. Thus all prayer is conditional. Whatever we ask for we do so under the condition that it is spiritually good for us. God in this matter is like a good physician. He knows far better than the sick man what is good for him, and consequently some of our petitions are mercifully heard, but sometimes they are mercifully unheard.

In practice, then, it will be a great help towards acquiring the right attitude of mind with regard to prayer if we pray for spiritual things rather than for temporal. By keeping spiritual things uppermost we shall gradually form the habit of looking upon temporal needs in relationship and in subordination to spiritual. If I pray for a fine day to-morrow in order that I may go to town and it turns out a pouring wet day, then I ought to have some spiritual excuse

ready for it—perhaps I have been saved from a grievous temptation, or perhaps from a railway accident which might have meant death at an inopportune moment.

Nevertheless, the petition for spiritual things has to be kept conditioned, even as the petition for temporal things. It is not every spiritual good which is good for *me*. The rich banquet of God's graces is not all for me. Only that is given which is suitable. Surely it was a worthy prayer of St. Paul to be delivered from the sting of the flesh. Thrice he besought God that it might depart from him. Yet the only answer he received was: "My grace is sufficient for thee: for power is made perfect in infirmity."

The most wonderful of all unanswered prayers, however, is that of Our Lord in the garden of Gethsemani: "My Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from Me." Let us remember that He Who made the prayer is the same Person Who said: "Whatsoever you shall ask of the Father in My name, He will give it to you." Now He asks in His own name that He may be spared the awful sufferings of His passion. Moreover, He asks for it with the full knowledge that by His sufferings He is going to redeem the world. Whether we have regard to His divine knowledge by which He knew all that the Father knew, or whether we have regard to His human knowledge, by which He knew everything that was possible to a human intellect, it seems strange that the incarnate Christ should be making such a prayer..

Let us grant that it was His natural feelings shrinking from the awful torments which He foresaw. Nevertheless, those feelings were under the complete control of His intelligent will. If He allowed His feelings to shrink from suffering, therefore He did so deliberately and with a purpose. And surely the purpose was this—to show to us that we need not be afraid to ask tremendous things of the divine power. So many great things were to be wrought by prayer that we must set no limit to them. Our need is God's opportunity. So the Saviour of the world gave us the example—in His great need, in His great desolation, He besought His Father that the chalice might pass from Him.

But if tremendous things were to be asked for in prayer, tremendous things were also to be refused. Why? Because something still more tremendous was waiting to happen—something weighted by the choice of the Heavenly Father's will. Therefore Our Lord adds immediately: "Nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou." He clearly saw that the salvation of the world could be fittingly brought about by His passion and crucifixion. But He saw, too, that it could be brought about by a mere sigh or a tear. Perhaps He was praying for it to be realized in some other way from that which was

imminent. But He wanted to impress upon us that the divine will was supreme, and that if it will choose for us something opposed to our wills, it was all in accord with the divine goodness seeking out our higher good. On the one hand, therefore, we are bidden to ask for what we like, but on the other hand we are bidden to abide by God's choice. Whichever way He decides, it is a means of drawing us closer to Him and of increasing His glory and praise.

When once this point is clearly seen, there is no difficulty whatever in the case of two nations or two individuals asking for the same thing which can only be given to one of them. The souls which have to be influenced by the victories of Germany or the victories of England, by the devastation of Poland or the devastation of Belgium, are individual souls. Under the Christian dispensation it is not the British nation, nor the German nor the American as such which is called to salvation. It is the individual Briton, German or American who is redeemed, and it depends on how he bears himself with regard to the divine will whether or not the redemption is fruitful in his soul.

Frequently, however, the difficulty is not one of mere disappointment. The disappointment gives rise to reflection and a reasoned out excuse is sought for the justification of a rebellious frame of mind. Granting, says this bold logician, that everything you have already said is true, granting that God arranges what is best for our eternal salvation, yet even so I see no reason for prayer. The victory for my side in the war is either good for my salvation or it is not. If it is not good for me, God will not give it, in which case my prayer is useless. If it is good for me, God will give it, in which case my prayer is superfluous.

Or perhaps the disappointed one knows something of science, and consequently formulates his difficulty in scientific language. Do you suppose that God once set the world going according to certain physical laws and then afterwards found he had made mistakes, putting the wet days and the fine days in the wrong places, and then, in answer to our requests, had to keep stepping in to put things right? And if He did have to change matters in deference to the free will of man, what becomes of His unchangeableness? Does not the unchangeableness of God imply that He cannot change His mind?

So the pastor has to find a method of exposition which on the one hand shall not be so popular as to evade the difficulty, and which on the other shall not be so theological as to remove the subject from the realm of popular realities. Either would be fatal to encouragement in prayer.

The pastor then recalls his theology. God is a pure act. The very fullness and perfection of His activity excludes any real distinction

between God's acts. They are all identically one. But if we must speak of God at all, we must adopt human ways of speaking about Him. So whilst always remembering that His acts are not distinct in themselves, we treat them as if they were—they are distinct in our own minds for practical purposes. In this way the various transitory things of the world can be related to God's action. We can think of God arranging first a fine day, then a wet day; here a victory for the Germans, there a victory for the French; this year a failure in an examination, next year a pass.

And it is precisely in the wrong use of this principle that the pit-fall occurs. The mind is muddled with a little dangerous theology and the attempt is made to think of God as acting in eternity and man as acting in time. The two actions are set on different planes, with the result that no working relationship can be established between them. We forget, for the time being, that we can only speak of God in terms of human analogies, and thus try to speak in the same breath of God as He is in His real order and of man as he is in his real order. But not until we have the light of glory shall we be able to see God in this way.

No. We must either think of God as acting in time and dealing successively with the successive things of time, or think of the world as existing in eternity, being taken into consideration in the eternal mind of God. Whenever God acts outside Himself, His actions are said to be formally immanent and virtually transient. It is the virtual transience which we think of when we imagine God acting successively in time.

Now take up the difficulties. Let us suppose that God has decided that victory for your side, be it British, German, French or Russian, is good for your salvation and that your side shall have victory. It does not therefore follow that your prayer for victory is superfluous. The armies of the nations, the counsels of the rulers, you and your sins and your virtues all existed in the mind of God from eternity. It is there where they must be related to God's will. God willed that victory should happen to your side, but He also willed that it should happen as a consequence of your prayers. You do not know at present whether victory will be yours or not. What you do know is that your prayers may be one of its conditions. So you had better go down on your knees. Prayer is a lifting up of the heart and mind to God, and this is one of the wonderful ways in which God draws the heart and mind of man to Himself.

Or, again, let us take the prayer for a fine day. Here you may imagine the descent of all eternity into the bright sunshine of an April morning. God blows His winds, the gentle zephyrs of the southwest. But they bear rain with them, and you do not want rain,

for you are taking your children for an outing. You pray and you ask the children to pray. God sends more zephyrs and blows the clouds away. But God never changed His mind. He merely arranged that the clouds should come to prompt your prayers and that your prayers should come to banish the clouds. You think of God not as stepping in to put things right, but as ever present, overruling all things according to His wisdom, correlating the prayers of the faithful with the government of the universe, Himself acting as first cause, but adjusting untold secondary causes to the attainment of His great design.

"But," you will say, "suppose I did not pray? God would arrange what was good for my salvation." Yes, but even your salvation has only been arranged conditionally. You will not be saved without your own coöperation. And it may be that this prayer for a fine day is one of the numerous coöperative acts which will lead to your salvation. You can never tell, because you cannot see the universe of time and space as God sees it. God is outside time and space. Past, present and future are spread out like a picture before His gaze—He sees all things at one glance. He not only sees your prayer, but He sees also your refusal to pray. And that refusal to pray He has also taken into account in His ordering of the universe.

The scientist Pasteur said that all his scientific discoveries had left him with the faith of the Breton peasant, and that if he had to go through all again, they would leave him with the faith of a Breton peasant's wife. So is it with any expert knowledge of the inexorable laws of science. They leave prayer practically just where it is in any peasant's mind. The peasant thinks of God in human terms; nor can the scientist do otherwise, for the scientist is only a human being after all.

Our Lord indeed anticipated both the simple knowledge of the peasant and the complex knowledge of the scientist when He said: "Your Father knoweth what is needful for you before you ask Him." Which being interpreted to the scientist is: "Your Father arranged the sequence of the seasons, the laws of molecular attraction and gravity, the orbits of the planets and the activity of the ions, arranging all for the use of man, and through man His own praise." And which being interpreted to the peasant is: "Your Father is aware that your garden wants rain and sunshine, that you cannot afford to be ill, that it takes you all your time to provide frugal food for your family." Alike to both He says: "Thus therefore shall you pray: 'Our Father . . . Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. . . . Give us this day our daily bread.'"

Thus we come to the root significance of the prayer of petition. It is an interpretation of our desires for God and God's gifts. It

is essentially an act of religion, a means of rebinding man to God. It is not a means of conveying information to God, for God knows everything—knows our smallest needs before we ask Him. Its purpose is to produce a change in man, not a change in God. Petition, of its very nature, implies dependence. And as religion was meant to rebind man to God after rebellion, petition was instituted as one of the chief acts of religion. Just as an earthly father likes to hear his child say “Please,” so the heavenly Father likes to hear His children say “We pray Thee,” “We ask of Thee.” It is psychology applied to its highest and noblest purpose.

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WHOSE SON IS HE?

IT WAS census-taking time in Palestine. Joseph went up from Galilee with Mary, his espoused wife, who was with Child, to be enrolled at Bethlehem. The hostleries were crowded; they sought shelter in a cattle cave, and there the Virgin Mother brought forth her first-born Son and laid Him in a manger. Thirty-three years later Roman soldiers stripped that Child of His garments and hammered Him to a cross. The captain of the guard, seeing in what manner he had given up the ghost, glorified God, saying, "Indeed this man was the Son of God." Whose Son was He?

His name is heaven-sent, Jesus. He is Mary's son, for she gave Him birth; His fellow-townsmen called Him the carpenter's son; the common people cried Him out the Son of David; the demons, Son of God; a voice from heaven twice named him "My Beloved Son," while He was wont to call Himself the Son of Man. Whose Son was He?

There are extant four inspired accounts of His life. We presuppose them authentic and substantially correct. We shall seek our answer in only those passages of the first three Gospels in which the idea of sonship is predominant, and this because the synoptic narrative is often said by rationalists to have obscured the divine nature of the Messiah.

St. Luke has told us of the Child's conception: an angel is speaking with a maiden; would she consent to become the mother of a Son who should be called the Son of the Most High, to Whom the Lord would give the throne of David, His father? She knew not man. But the Holy Ghost would come upon her, therefore the Holy One that should be born of Her would be called the Son of God. The maid consented, and when she folded that wondrous Babe to her breast, she knew that It had no earthly father; but she knew more, mysteriously more.

The Boy of twelve remained in Jerusalem without His mother's knowledge. Found at last and questioned, "Son, why hast Thou done so to us? Behold, Thy father and I have sought Thee sorrowing," He made answer before the doctors acknowledging Mary's motherhood, but gently pointing out that Joseph, since he did not know the business He had been about, could not be His father. Joseph had learned as much already. He, too, had spoken with angels.

At thirty Jesus rose to read in the synagogue at Nazareth. The villagers were in admiration of His doctrine, and they said: "Is not this the son of Joseph, the carpenter's son? Whence, then, hath

he all these things?" Jesus wondered because of their unbelief. He was not the carpenter's son.

Existing from all eternity as Son of the Eternal Father, in time He assumed human nature, and from the first moment of His conception was fully aware in His twofold consciousness that He as God and as Man was the natural Son of God. How could others be brought to this same knowledge?

The Jews were in a fever of expectancy. They knew the promises, they knew the prophecies. Daniel's weeks were now accomplished. It was time the Messiah, the Expected of Nations, should appear. Names they had many for him; dearest and most widely known was Son of David.

As such was Jesus spoken of by the angel of the Incarnation, as such the two blind men at Capharnaum and later on at Jericho implored His pity, as such the woman Syrophenician born begged Him to have mercy on her daughter; when he cured a man possessed of a devil, blind and dumb, the multitude was amazed and cried aloud, "Is not this the Son of David?" Faith in Jesus' messiahship was growing. The Pharisees were quick to crush its first beginnings, Jesus was just as quick to show their wickedness.

Only once did He deign to enjoy a triumph that measured up in some degree to Jewish fancy. It was the Sunday before He was crucified. In fulfillment of the prophecy, He, the King, came to the daughter of Sion, meek and sitting upon an ass. The whole city was moved; some spread their garments on the roadway, others cut down boughs and strewed them on the streets, while others still shouted songs of joy. Then "Hosannah to the Son of David!" rang through the city; the children in the temple took up the cry, nor would Jesus silence them, and if the elders of these little ones had been still, the very stones would have cried out, "Hosannah!" so clear had it become that Jesus was the Messiah.

Two days later He put a direct question to the men who were plotting His death: "What think you of Christ? Whose Son is He?" Their answer was precise, "David's." So far they were correct. But He was more, and they should have known it. Therefore He said to them: "How, then, doth David call Him Lord, saying, 'The Lord said to my Lord, Sit thou at My right hand till I make thy enemies thy footstool?' If David called Him Lord, say is He his son?" No man was able to answer Him a word.

Did their minds go back and recall how the Messiah was to share the power and dignity of Jahweh himself and thus be God, since no one but God can share the attributes of God? It was an easy inference and they could have drawn it had not passion blinded reason.

There can be no doubt that the Messiah had been foretold as

God. In the prophecies the truth lies written, but just as now, the one true Church, though visible and bearing four great marks, is not recognized as such by many, or, if recognized, is not acknowledged, or, if acknowledged, is not accepted, so, of old, many either did not know, or, knowing, would not believe that God would be the Messiah and that the Messiah would be God.

Little wonder that another Messianic name, the very one by which Jesus was wont to call Himself, was little used by the Jews. We read it some thirty times in Matthew, thirteen times in Mark and twenty-five in Luke, yet the apostles never thus addressed the Master, the Jews never thus spoke of the Messiah, neither has the name passed over into our liturgy.

Son of Man—what does it mean? Rationalists, in an endeavor to explain away a fact the logical consequence of which they do not wish to admit, have attempted to show that Son of Man is synonymous with "man" or "one," "some one," "I," "myself." Their very disagreement serves to refute them. Neither does the term imply, primarily at least, sonship of Mary, of David, of Abraham, nor "the most perfect man," nor even the form of a servant which the Word assumed to work out our salvation. It is a Messianic name, a synonym for Messiah, well known, but little used, with a direct reference to Daniel's prophecy: "I beheld therefore in the vision of the night, and lo! one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven." In this sense did Jesus use it when He said: "You shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of the power of God and coming in the clouds of heaven." All other interpretations therefore are at best derived or secondary.

Jesus had a twofold revelation to make to a people little disposed to receive either—He was to reveal Himself as Son of God and as Messiah.

Had He heralded Himself Son of David, had He come with fanfare and trumpet, had He proclaimed His Kingdom with cymbal and song, the Jews would have rallied round Him in a frantic effort to throw off the foreign yoke. Then there would have been rebellion and slaughter and Romans riding roughshod over all Judea. Yet such was the Messiah the people expected; they had set their hearts on temporal greatness, they had forgotten or ignored all foretelling of a suffering Messiah, of a meek and patient Messiah, Who would not contend nor cry out, Who would not break the bruised reed nor quench the smoking flax. Of such a Messiah they had no thought. Their concept of a Messiah had therefore to be corrected. To correct it and at the same time to reveal Himself as the Expected One, was the reason why Jesus ever called Himself the Son of Man.

Jesus was at Capharnaum when first He is recorded to have used

this title. Crowds pressed close about Him, Pharisees sat near Him; down through the broken roof He saw a sick man lowered at His feet. He bade him rise, that those who thought evil in their hearts might know "that the Son of Man had power on earth to forgive sin." Then in quick succession on the mountain, in the valley, along the seashore, in public, in private, even at His trial, He calls Himself the Son of Man, coupling with the name honor and disgrace, shame and glory, love and hate, insult and triumph, weakness and power, life and death.

Lord of the Sabbath, He will be mocked; greater than Jonas, He must be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights; greater than Solomon, He will be spat upon and scourged; greater than the temple, He will be delivered to the Gentiles. Transfigured on Thabor, the apostles must tell no one till the Son of Man be risen from the dead (for He must suffer many things and be despised by those who had done all they had a mind to do to Elias). He has a kingdom, yet He is not come to be ministered unto, but to minister; a word spoken against Him will be forgiven, yet it were better for His betrayer if he had never been born. All power is given Him, and, in fuller manifestation of that power, His sign will appear in the heavens, He will come like lightning in His own majesty and that of the Father, His chosen twelve will take their seats, His angels will be ranged about Him, and as the shepherd separates the goats from the sheep, so will He separate all the nations of the earth whom His angels will have gathered from the four winds; some He will send into everlasting punishment, others He will call into everlasting life; and yet, though He have all judgment, of that day and hour no one knoweth, neither the angels in heaven nor the Son, but the Father, and He, the Judge of all, will Himself be condemned to death and rejected by His own nation and its priests.

Thus in season and out of season did He strive to impress upon all that the Messiah must be a man of sorrows before He could be a King of glory; how hardly his lesson was taken we may gather from this that on the day He rose from the dead, two were disconsolate on the road to Emmaus, because they had hoped that He it was Who would have redeemed Israel.

Artists of old, Daniel, Isaias, David, Micheas and others, had each left fragments of a strange mosaic; some tesserae were glorious, others full of shame, some vague and ill-defined, others clear and sharp—all portrayed the self-same Man. Given in keeping to the chosen people, guarded and treasured by them through the ages, as centuries sped along, bits that were displeasing were laid aside and then forgotten; features more glorious were given greater

prominence and served to keep alive the Messianic expectations. Then the Master Artist came and gathered all the fragments, fitting them in wondrous wise—bright stones He set beside dark stones of shame, marbles red with blood were set round with golden glory, stones wet with tears were mingled with stones rejected long ago, and when the whole was done, He set it in His Blood.

The work was such as could not be appreciated in any one light; in sunshine it seemed an image of a God, in darkness but a man; only when light and shadow played on it in due proportion, only when the brightness of Thabor was dulled by the gloom of Calvary, only when one had knelt long and prayerfully and gazed on it with eyes of faith—only then was the whole revealed to be the image of a God-made Man.

This, then, was Jesus' purpose in calling Himself the Son of Man—to correct a long-standing misconception of the Messianic character, to establish His own Messianic personality, and thus by an easy deduction, based on the prophecies, lead men to see that He was God.

This latter revelation was, if the term be allowed, even more shocking to the Jewish mind than the former. To have their fondest Messianic hopes declared ill-founded was trying indeed, but to learn that the One God, beside Whom they had been taught there was no other, was at least twofold in personality, to be told that a Man coming as Jesus came and not as they had fancied God would come, a Man Whom they had seen eating, sleeping, tired and hungry, was the great Jahweh, Whose very name no one dare utter—this was testing faith almost to the breaking point.

Yet this was the task to which Jesus addressed Himself, how considerately, humanly speaking; how successfully pedagogically, how logically, too, since He demanded a reasonable service; how sweetly, since He won all hearts, one need but glance at the Catholic Church in all its history to realize.

Son of Man, Son of God—these are the two poles round which the mystery turns.

None were wont to call Him Son of Man; many called Him Son of God; but yet it is not admitted by all that every text that names Him Son of God gives proof conclusive of His divinity.

To see the reason for this we must first determine the meaning of son and then of Son of God as used in Scripture.

Son, in Biblical language, has not the narrow sense it has to-day. "Any close relation, physical or moral; every intimate connection of origin, dependence or affection analogous to the relation between a father and a son," was expressed as sonship.

The arrow is a son of the bow; the spark, a daughter of the

flame; corn is a son of the flower; disciples of prophets are their sons, wicked men are sons of Belial, Judas is a son of perdition and we are sons of God.

A son of God was one beloved of God, specially favored, more closely united to, an elect of God, one endowed with singular power, a holy, righteous soul, an adopted son of God.

Hence it is that some are unwilling to conclude that whenever or wherever Jesus is addressed as Son of God, there was intended to express that natural sonship, both as God and as Man, which the Church has ever taught.

Rationalists advance a twofold theory in explanation of the use of the term, maintaining either that Son of God is nothing more than a mere synonym for Messiah, or that in no text does it imply aught else than sonship by adoption, such as might be attributed to any Israelite.

Pius X. has condemned the following proposition: "In all Gospel texts the name Son of God is merely an equivalent of Messiah, nor does it by any means signify that Christ is the true and natural Son of God." Wherefore there is at least some one text in which Son of God is more than a mere synonym for Messiah, some one text in which Son of God implies natural sonship.

On other grounds, however, it may be maintained as certain that Son of God is no synonym for Messiah, while, part from traditional interpretation, a brief analysis of several texts will show that the true and natural sonship of Christ is recorded in the synoptic narrative.

In the Old Testament men and angels are called sons of God, not by an extrinsic denomination by reason of God's special protection or favor, but because of sanctifying grace, which made them sons of God. Yet the use of the term is peculiar; it occurs some fifty times, generally in the plural; if used in the singular at all, then either no definite individual is specified or the name is a collective one. There seems to be an exception to this in the text, "I will be to him a Father and he shall be to Me a son," but St. Paul teaches us that here the expression is applied to Solomon only in so far as the latter is a prototype of Christ.

In the synoptics, on the contrary, Jesus calls Himself and is called Son of God by His Heavenly Father, by angels, demons, apostles and disciples in a way opposed to all previous Scriptural usage—in a way in which no one determined person except His prototype was ever named. Therefore He must be a natural Son, for the opposition in the use of the terms would be meaningless were there no opposition in the thing signified, and the obvious opposite of adoptive is natural sonship.

Such a name could not have been a Messianic title, else some one of the demagogues who rose up at various intervals and proclaimed themselves Messiah would surely have chosen the name. When the Messiah is spoken of, He is called Son of David or prophet or King of Israel or Christ, but never Son of God. When Jesus called Himself the Son of God, He was accused of blasphemy.

Bearing these two facts in mind, it becomes of interest to see what of natural sonship is expressed in those synoptic texts in which Jesus is called or said to be the Son of God.

Mark begins his Gospel with a statement that seems but an echo of St. Peter's confession by the shores of Genesareth: "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God." There can be no cavil here. Mark is writing principally for converted pagans, free from the trammels of Jewish thought. A son is a natural son; God is God and Christ is His Messiah. (Matthew had not been as bold. Writing for the Hebrews and intent on shewing forth the Messianic character of Jesus, he began his gospel: "The Book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David.")

It was winter and John was baptizing; Jesus asked for baptism, and, coming out of the waters, "beheld a voice from heaven, saying, 'This is My Beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased.'" Beloved is the equivalent of only, only-begotten; adopted sons are not only begotten; the sonship implied is natural, as in the psalm, "Thou art My Son; this day have I begotten Thee."

Hell is forced to echo heaven; in the desert the tempter whispers, "If Thou be the Son of God," do this, do that. Later at Capernaum and when driven from possessed, the devils went out crying, "Thou art the Son of God;" they knew that He was Christ; they knew, too, for it was clear to all, that He was favored of God; therefore their cry was a confession of His Divinity.

In the spring of the second year of His ministry Jesus walked the waters, stilled the storm, stretched out His hand to the drowning Peter and speeded the boat to the shore. They that were in the ship worshipped Him, saying, "Thou art truly the Son of God." They could have called Him Son of God, with never a thought of His Divinity, but under the circumstances the growing faith of years seems to have passed beyond the human and reached out to the divine. This is confirmed not so much by their adoration, for prostration is a common way of paying reverence in the Orient, as by Jesus' acceptance of the honor paid Him. He was ever quick to refuse tributes; here He allows an act that might have a religious signification, and this because He was really worthy of all that the act might imply or connote.

Some would weaken the strength of this argument by appealing

to the excitement of the moment; psychic forces were at play and the impressionable fishermen made an exclamation the full import of which they neither understood nor intended.

Then take another scene. It is summer of that same year. Jesus is alone with His disciples on the roadway near Cæsarea Philippi. Quietly He puts a question to them, "Whom do men say the Son of Man is?" Here Son of Man, as noted before, is synonymous with Messiah and was understood as such. Opinions differed—He was John the Baptist, Elias, Jeremias, one of the prophets. Then Jesus said, "Whom do you say that I am?—(surely His voice lingered on the YOU!)—after all you have heard from Me, seen of Me, Whom do you say that I am?" Simon Peter answering said, "Thou art Christ, the Son of the Living God." Thou art Christ—this was no answer to Jesus' question. He had not asked whether or no He were the Messiah; that He was, was implied in His question. What He had asked was this: "Who (i. e., of what nature) is the Messiah?" "Son of the Living God"—this is the answer, understood not in any figurative, but in its obvious sense—natural son. Peter had answered well, therefore Jesus said to him, "Blessed art thou, Simon, because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but My Father Who is in heaven."

No revelation would have been needed to know that Jesus was all that adoptive sonship implied, but revelation was needed to know that He was the natural Son of God.

Soon indeed, rejoicing in the Holy Ghost, Jesus would exclaim, "No one knoweth Who the Father is but the Son, and to whom the Son will reveal Him; no one knoweth Who the Son is but the Father." Parallelism is wanting here, or rather it is incomplete. Jesus had already completed it by anticipation when He said to Peter, "My Father hath revealed it to thee."

It were hard to determine whether this confession of St. Peter or Jesus' own avowal at His trial were more explicit acknowledgment of the Divinity; the latter at least was more tremendous in its setting, more disastrous in its consequences.

Jesus had been arrested, cuffed, reviled, slapped, dragged along the streets to the palace of the High Priest. There He stands before the Sanhedrim; lying witnesses cannot agree; Caiphas is beside himself; the Man must die; He is in the way; He is not of their mind; He opposed them everywhere, tore down the whitened walls and revealed the rottenness within; He had proved Himself the Messiah and they knew it, but He was not such a Messiah as they had expected; therefore, away with Him; crucify Him. That would end His Messiahship. No Jew would accept a crucified Messiah.

With all the fury of hell in his heart and all the hypocrisy of hell on his face, he rose and called down to Jesus, "I adjure Thee by the Living God that Thou tell us if Thou be the Christ, the Son of God."

Matthew has condensed the question into one. Really, as Luke shows, there were two distinct questions, "If Thou be the Christ, tell us." They had shown themselves unwilling scholars in an easy school, hence Jesus answered them, "If I shall tell you, you will not believe; nevertheless I say to you, hereafter you shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of the power of God and coming in the clouds of heaven." Once again He identifies Himself with the Son of Man as featured by Daniel; they understand His Messianic claim; they understand that He is laying claim to equality with God. Therefore the second question asked in fiendish expectancy, "Art Thou the Son of God?" The second answer, "You say that I am." The shout of delight, "He hath blasphemed; He is guilty of death." Jesus could not have blasphemed had He claimed merely adoptive Sonship. He could not have blasphemed had He not made Himself the equal of God. They should have adored Him. They crucified Him.

Such, then, is Jesus' Sonship as expressed in the synoptics.

He is Son of Mary, and this is His sweetest title; He is Son of David, by blood, because of Mary; by law, because of Joseph; by right, because of His Messiahship, and this is His most regal title; He is Son of Man, and this is a Messianic name of mingled shame and glory; He is the Son of God not by adoption, but by nature, both as Man and as God, and this is His most adorable title, and as such we worship Him, Jesus Christ, the same, yesterday, to-day and forever.

ZACHEUS JOSEPH MAHER, S. J.

Woodstock M.d.

Book Reviews

LIFE OF FATHER DE SMET, S. J. By *Father E. Laveille, S. J.* Authorized Translation. By *Marian Lindsay*. Introduction by *Charles Coppens, S. J.* Frontispiece Portrait, Five Illustrations and Map. Pp. 420, 8vo. cloth, gilt top, net \$2.75. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

This book is not only the biography of a good man, a holy priest and a zealous missionary, but it is the history of the North American Indian, his wars, his conflicts, his conversion, his perversion, his persecution and his extinction. It is a history of exploration in the great Northwest, with vivid descriptions of the beauties of nature and valuable contributions to botany, ethnology and other sciences. It is a record of the spread of God's kingdom on earth, for it tells us of the preaching of the Gospel in new fields and to a strange people, as well as of the foundation of new churches, new institutions of learning and new ecclesiastical provinces. And all this is told not second hand or third hand, not from records of doubtful origin or authenticity, not by prejudiced witnesses, but by the man of God himself, **disinterested, unselfish, unprejudiced, by his own hand**, and all for the greater honor and glory of God and the salvation of souls. The announcement of the book well says:

"Few personages gifted with talents so versatile as Peter John De Smet have trodden the stage of American history. Explorer, geographer, ethnologist, linguist, author and missionary, he proved himself besides a diplomatist of the highest rank in the most difficult of missions—that of mediator between races differing in ideals, culture and color. Through his personal influence with the Indians the United States Government was enabled to avert several bloody wars after all other means had been employed in vain.

"Nowhere better than in the description of Father De Smet's travels do we find reflected the true picture of the great Middle West at the time of the coming of the white. The romance of Old America permeates every page. Father De Smet himself was one of the richest contributors to our authentic knowledge of the Indian languages, customs, religion and traditions. And the study of his life is of the first importance for all who are interested in the introduction and gradual extension of civilization in the West."

Rev. Charles Coppens, S. J., in the introduction to this volume, shows a keen appreciation of its merits. He approaches the subject with that sympathy which is necessary, though rare, and which is most natural in a brother priest and brother Jesuit. He says:

"One of the brightest glories of the Catholic Church shines forth

in the zeal she has ever displayed for the propagation of the Gospel. From the time when Christ said to His apostles, 'Go ye into the whole world and preach the Gospel to every creature,' they and their successors, the missionaries of every age, have bravely carried on the sacred task entrusted to them without any interruption whatsoever; and they are seen to-day, as they have been seen all along in every known portion of the earth, extending the kingdom of Christ and preparing numberless souls for the enjoyment of heavenly bliss.

"In the United States in particular the Church has nobly performed this divine mission. She has sent her heroic sons, Bishops and priests, in large numbers to every tribe of the aboriginal population, baptizing, teaching and civilizing its scattered millions, successful in converting and sanctifying large portions of them, notwithstanding the active opposition of false religionists.

"Many of the most glowing pages of the great Protestant historian of the United States, George Bancroft, contain magnificent descriptions of the devoted labors of our Catholic missionaries, whose wonderful exploits he narrates with all the brilliancy and interest which attach to the writings of Prescott in his records of the Conquest of Mexico by Hernando Cortez. But every Christian feels while reading such works how far the sacred purpose and the self-sacrifice of the missionaries among the Indians surpass in nobility the dauntless courage of the steel-clad warriors.

"It is gratifying to see that the learned world, even outside of the Catholic Church, has shown a high appreciation of the gigantic labors of our missionaries, as is evidenced by the publication in this country of a most expensive work, in seventy-three large octavo volumes, styled "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites. But though this valuable collection is found on the shelves of nearly all the great libraries in the United States, its volumes are not frequently seen in the hands of the general reader, Catholic or Protestant. To enlighten him on the grandeur of our missions and missionaries we need briefer and more popular works, which, while conveying the same information, afford more impressive and interesting reading and communicate desirable knowledge in the charming language of lighter literature.

"That is the secret of the popularity of a Prescott in his volumes on Mexico and Peru and of a Washington Irving in his lives of Washington and Columbus. The same is an attractive quality of the life of Father De Smet, by Father E. Laveille, S. J., of which the present volume is a translation.

"The French original was received in Belgium and France with marked enthusiasm. In three months the first edition was exhausted. The *Belgian Messenger of the Sacred Heart* said of it:

'In the history of the Catholic apostolate few careers have been so glorious as that of the Rev. Father De Smet. We rejoice that the author has given us a clear, definite history of the man and his work.' The French journal, *La Croix*, stated: 'The life of Father De Smet reads like a novel, but one so realistic, so thrilling with interest, that you cannot tear yourself away from it.'

"The appreciation of the book by *Le Bien Public* calls for a more extended quotation. It says: 'From the moment that you have cut its first pages you will not lay it aside until you have read the whole volume. And all along his career you will follow the hero, the apostle of the Rocky Mountains, with a passionate interest, with an ever-growing admiration, as when Fenimore Cooper, Mayne Reid and Daniel Defoe first charmed your youthful imagination. Especially this reading will strengthen your faith and your hope; it will show you in its divine splendor the civilizing influence of religion, transforming by a miracle of grace savage natures and raising up saints among them.'

"What has added much to the interest of the story and the reliability of the events narrated is the fact that the author had at his disposal a vast amount of material to select from. There is probably not a single one among the numerous holy and able men whose names grace the annals of the American missions on whose labors such copious information exists as on those of the subject of this biography. In particular I may mention that most remarkable work in which two Protestant gentlemen, Messrs. Hiram Martin Chittenden, major, corps of engineers, U. S. A., and Alfred Talbot Richardson, testifying to the greatness of Father De Smet's achievements, have filled four large volumes with accounts drawn from the original sources of his life, letters and extensive travels.

"At that time young De Smet and eight companions, all aspirants to the missionary career, were leaving their native land without the permission of their parents, as the Holy Child Jesus had left His Blessed Mother and St. Joseph to be about His heavenly Father's business. Their reason was that they had no doubt of their holy vocation, and they well knew that permission to follow it would have been refused; their future flight would have become impossible once their parents had learned of their design. They felt convinced besides that the plan they had decided to follow would be approved when members of their pious families learned they had gone.

"Shortly after they had reached the Jesuit novitiate in Maryland an earnest request of Monsignor Rosati, then Bishop of Louisiana, arrived there asking for several Jesuits to come and work in his extensive Western diocese. Two men who had lately come from

Europe, Peter De Smet among them, were to go and establish a new novitiate in the Far West. They were delighted with the prospect of thus coming into the closer vicinity of the Indian tribes, among which they eagerly desired to spend their zealous lives. They traversed the country, mostly on foot, for a distance of some fifteen hundred miles, till they came to the little town of Florissant, near the confluence of the Mississippi and the Missouri rivers. There in a couple of log huts they established the new novitiate, centre of future Jesuit activity for the Western States. They felled the trees of the forest primeval—a welcome task to the sturdy young Belgians—and in a few months built a solid edifice. But it was done amid the pangs of poverty and all manner of privations. There on October 10, 1823, the six novices were allowed to pronounce their first religious vows and make their consecration to the Lord lifelong and irrevocable. From that humble beginning has grown up the Jesuit Province of Missouri, which counts to-day 397 priests, 306 scholastics, 174 lay Brothers—a total of 877 members. Very soon a school was opened for Indian boys, with seven or eight tribes represented among its pupils. While teaching these the young religious pursued their philosophical and theological studies, and on September 23, 1827, the holy priesthood was conferred on Peter John De Smet and some of his companions. Then his missionary work began in right earnest, to be continued during forty-three years. The graphic account of these labors is given in the present volume. Here we read of numerous visits to Indian tribes and the fruitful work done among them, of the missionary's travels in unexplored regions of our continent, of his voyages to and from Europe, of his exertions in favor of the Indians with the Government and with army officials of the United States, and of the services he rendered to the administration at Washington by aiding it to secure treaties of peace with the outraged savages. He traversed the Atlantic Ocean in the course of his missionary labors as many as nineteen times, and traveled by land, it is said, over 87,000 leagues, mostly before railroads had been multiplied in America, while large portions of the regions he chiefly frequented were pathless forests or deserts. The little band at Florissant had received a number of accessions, some very talented men, when, in 1828, they undertook, at the earnest request of Bishop Rosati, to establish a college at St. Louis. It opened with forty boys, boarders and day scholars, and four years later there were 150 students, a large proportion of whom were Protestants. Father De Smet was treasurer, disciplinarian and professor of English. The college soon became a university. But the principal charm of the volume here presented to the reader lies in the graphic sketches of the missionary's travels and labors

among the Indians. Of these it would be vain to attempt a general outline. Their beauties sparkle on every page; the whole book must be read to realize the magnificence of the scenery described, the grandeur of the achievements performed, the aroma of the virtues practiced and the noble sentiments exhibited not only by the missionary himself and his heroic associates, but also by many of the red-skinned warriors and their wives and children, when once their wild natures had been subdued by the gospel of peace and their souls sanctified by the waters of baptism.

"Father De Smet loved his Indians warmly not only because so good a man necessarily pitied their benighted condition and longed to make them children of God, but also because he found in large numbers of them truly noble characters, as unselfish and sincere and faithful to their friends as they were brave and fearless in battle. He found them also hospitable to strangers and compassionate to all unfortunates who were not their traditional enemies. They were far less savage, he used to say, than those whites who, in trading with them, would cheat them out of their furs and horses and give them trifles or fire-water in exchange. The Indians, on their part, revered and warmly loved the Black Robes—Father De Smet and any of his associates—in whom they knew they could always confide. He, as they often expressed it, was the only white man that did not speak with a forked tongue. That was the reason why they trusted him as mediator between them and the civil and military authorities of the United States. Thus he succeeded on various occasions in preventing a bold revenge on their part, when they had been grievously wronged, and in obtaining from the supreme Government a proper protection for their rights. It cruelly tore his heart when, notwithstanding all his efforts to protect the red men, he saw them, as he often did, grievously outraged in their dearest interests, as when whole tribes, evangelized for many years by Catholic missionaries and partly converted to the faith, were arbitrarily handed over by the Government to the care of some Protestant sects. Another sad disappointment would come to him and to his fellow-laborers when, as happened in 1850 at the Flathead mission, the Indians themselves would rebel against God and plunge into terrible excesses of drunkenness and bloodshed, thus undoing in a few days all the success achieved by many years of devoted labors."

The "Life of Father De Smet" is indispensable to the student of the history of the Catholic Church and her missions; to the student of American history and exploration; to a right understanding of religious orders and their mission; to a true knowledge of the American Indian, and to a proper view of the handling of the In-

dian question. It is not always pleasant reading, but it is interesting, informing, necessary, and sometimes exciting and fascinating.

THE POPES AND SCIENCE. The history of the Papal relations to science. By *James J. Walsh, M. D., Ph. D., Litt. D., Sc. D. (Notre Dame), K. C. St. G., Professor of Physiological Psychology, Cathedral College, New York.* Fordham University Press, 110 West Seventy-fourth street, New York. Price, \$2 net.

MAKERS OF MODERN MEDICINE. The lives of the men who made our present-day medicine. By the same author. Fordham University Press, 110 West Seventy-fourth street, New York. Price, \$2 net.

These two valuable books by Dr. Walsh are so well known and have won so secure a place in the literary world that it seems almost superfluous to do more than announce new and enlarged editions of them. And yet it is possible that the unwise habit of taking things for granted, which has tempted even Catholics to believe sometimes that there is opposition between faith and science which would account for the opposition of the Popes to science and the absence of scientific men from the Catholic, might also tempt them to think that there is no answer to this charge and to overlook this masterly refutation. We are notorious for forgetting and overlooking. This is probably due to some extent to faulty superficial education and to the rush habit and love for novelty which are characteristic of us as a people.

Therefore we shall do more than call attention to these new editions of valuable books—we shall call attention to their original merits. The author gives us this excellent introduction to "The Popes and Science":

"For years, as a student and physician, I listened to remarks from teachers and professional friends as to the opposition of the Popes to science, until finally, much against my will, I came to believe that there had been many Papal documents issued which intentionally or otherwise hampered the progress of science. Interest in the history of medicine led me to investigate the subject for myself. To my surprise I found that the supposed opposition to science was practically all founded on an exaggeration of the significance of the Galileo incident. As a matter of history, the Popes were as liberal patrons of science as of art. In the Renaissance period, when their patronage of Raphael and Michel Angelo and other great artists did so much for art, similar relations to Columbus, Eustachius and Cæsalpinus, and later to Steno and Malpighi, our greatest medical discoverers, had like results for science. The Papal Medical School was for centuries the greatest medical school in Europe, and its professors were the most distinguished medical scientists of the

time. This is a perfectly simple bit of history that any one may find for himself in any reliable history of medicine. The medical schools were the scientific departments of the universities practically down to the nineteenth century. The Popes, in fostering medical schools (there were four of them in the Papal dominions, and two of them, Bologna and Rome, were the greatest medical schools for several centuries), were acting as wise and beneficent patrons of science. Many of the greatest scientists of the middle ages were clergymen. Some of the greatest of them were canonized as saints. Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas were typical examples. At least one Pope has been a distinguished scientist before being elected to the Papacy. For seven centuries the Popes selected as their physicians the greatest medical scientists of the times, and the list of Papal physicians is the worthiest series of names connected by any bond in the history of medicine, far surpassing in scientific import even the roll of the faculty of any medical school.

"In a word, I failed to find any trace of Papal opposition to true science in any form. On the contrary, I found abundant evidence of their having been just as liberal and judicious patrons of science as they were of art and education in all forms. I found also that those who write most emphatically about Papal opposition to science know nothing at all of the history of science, and, above all, of medicine and of surgery during three very precious centuries. Because they know nothing about it, they think there was none and go out of their way to find a reason for its absence, while all the time there is a wondrous series of chapters of science for those who care to look for them. This is the story I have tried to tell in this book."

Dr. Walsh's experience was not singular nor exceptional. In spite of what he and others have written on this subject, the ignorant calumny is repeated not among uneducated people only, but by teachers of reputation, in schools of high standing and to students of pretention. The writer of this notice was told by a Catholic student in a prominent university that one of the professors had declared to his class recently that all the smart people of history were infidels. The class accepted the declaration for truth and thought the author of it was very bright. It is a pity that this book cannot be placed in the hands of such teachers and pupils. This new edition is much increased in value. Dr. Walsh has added 100 pages of appendices to it and has made it in nearly every way a complete storehouse of authoritative answers to all the objections raised against the Popes and the Church on the ground of supposed opposition to science.

One of the most prominent of English critical journals

said, speaking of the first edition, if Dr. Walsh had only added a series of appendix documents to this volume he would have made a monumental work in the literature of religious controversy and scientific history. Now a hundred pages of appendices are added. All the Church decrees supposed to prove a policy of Church opposition are quoted in full and the text shows that they have either been misrepresented or misunderstood by those who quoted them as documents in support of Papal or Church opposition to science.

The appendix on science in America demonstrates that the Catholic universities of Spanish America far outranked the universities of English America in their devotion to science up to the time when political troubles disturbed them. The appendix on Professor Draper's "Conflict Between Religion and Science" shows how dangerous a thing it is to air a little knowledge on the thesis of the opposition between religion and science. Dr. Walsh makes clear, above all, the utter lack of scholarship of a generation which accepted books like Draper's as representing real knowledge and supposed research, while Draper was all the time exhibiting an almost ridiculous ignorance not only of the history of science, but above all of the history of medicine, for though he was a professor in a medical school and a distinguished medical scientist, he knew literally nothing of the story of old time medical progress, though apparently he and his readers thought he knew all there was to know.

"Makers of Modern Medicine" was a natural sequence to "The Popes and Science." There is no contradiction between Faith and Science; the Popes were not the enemies of Science; faithful sons of the Church were scientists, as witness these distinguished men in the science of medicine.

It is appropriate and encouraging that the two books are increasing in circulation, that new editions of both are called for, and that the learned author is able to perfect each with valuable additional matter.

"Makers of Modern Medicine" is now offered in its third edition, with nearly 100 additional pages devoted to the life of Virchow.

Virchow was probably the greatest German scientist of the nineteenth century. He was the father of modern pathology, and pathology has meant more for progress in medical science than any other department of medicine. But Virchow was much more than a pathologist. It was said that when Virchow died the world of science lost not one, but four men. For, besides being a great pathologist, Virchow was a leader in anthropology, a distinguished original worker in sanitation, and above all a thoroughly practical man who

applied politically all his knowledge of the medical science for the benefit of the community in which he lived. He was for years prominent in the politics both of Prussia and of the German Empire. Everywhere he left his mark for good. We can scarcely think of a great scientist and busy professor in the medical department of a university as occupied deeply with legislative duties, but Virchow exemplified how this might be done.

He was besides thoroughly conservative in all of his opinions. He detested theorizing and insisted that fifty years of biology had been wasted to a great extent in the nineteenth century because of theoretic jumping to conclusions for which there was no justification in observed facts. He was the constant outspoken opponent of Haeckel and the school that insisted on tracing man's descent to the animals, and declared that there was not the slightest evidence for the exaggerated teaching of evolution which became so fashionable in the "silly seventies" of the nineteenth century. For a time, because of this conservatism, Virchow was distinctly unpopular among the younger German scientists, who were even inclined to think of him as an old fogey. The present generation, however, has come around to a similar conservatism that amply vindicates the great German pathologist as one of the well-balanced far-seeing minds of his time.

This is the story that Dr. Walsh, who was in Virchow's laboratory for over a year, has told as an addition to the "Makers of Modern Medicine," which contains sketches of Morgagni, Auenbrugger, Laennec, Theodor Schwann, Johannes Müller, Claude Bernard, the leaders of the Irish School of Medicine, Pasteur, and Joseph O'Dwyer, the American inventor of incubation. Virchow finds a very suitable niche beside these men, who were all deeply conservative in their philosophy of life, and indeed most of them, though that will surprise many who accept the traditions of Church opposition to science, faithful adherents of the Catholic Church.

FOLLOWING THE CONQUISTADORES THROUGH SOUTH AMERICA'S SOUTHLAND.
With an account of the Roosevelt Scientific Expedition to South America. By the Rev. J. A. Zahm, O. S. C. (H. J. Mozan). Sixty-five illustrations. 8vo., pp. 526. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

South America has attracted greater attention in recent years than ever before, and travelers to its shores are increasing rapidly. Ships in larger number are carrying passengers to its various ports of entry, and tourists are not only visiting its maritime cities, but are penetrating to the interior and studying its natural beauties and its rich resources. Books on the South American Continent are more in demand than usual, and a work on that country from one

who is an authority is sure to attract respectful attention. Such a one is Dr. Zahm. When he speaks on scientific subjects and travel, men listen, because his books are not mere itineraries or the observations of the untrained eye of the non-professional man; they are rather correct scientific records of the country through which the traveler passes and the people whom he meets.

The announcement of the publisher says:

"Dr. Zahm knows South America from the Isthmus to the Straits of Magellan. It was his experiences that first attracted Theodore Roosevelt, and when Colonel Roosevelt decided upon his scientific expedition, Dr. Zahm took a prominent part in organizing, equipping and managing the affair.

"Using the Roosevelt itinerary as a basis for his story, Dr. Zahm now gives to the world the third and last of his famous travel books, 'Following the Conquistadores,' and in it tells of the history, the romance and the present status of Brazil, the Argentine, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay. The book has the same literary charm as Dr. Zahm's previous books upon the other parts of South America, and gives besides a very vivid picture of the South American countries of most interest to Americans at the present time."

Dr. Zahm himself says of this book: "It is now three and thirty years since duty first led me to our sister Republic of Mexico. The interest which I have previously felt in the achievements of the Conquistadores was greatly enhanced by my sojourn among their descendants in the valley of Anahuac, and has since continued to grow with the passing years. Since this first visit to Mexico other duties, coupled with special research in the religious, educational and social conditions of the peoples of Latin America, have led to my following the footsteps of the Conquistadores from the Strait of Juan de Fuca to the arid plains of Patagonia, and from the source of the Amazon, in the Peruvian Cordillera, to its broad estuary 4,000 miles distant. An account of some of my long peregrinations has been given in my two previous books, 'Up the Orinoco' and 'Down the Magdalena' and 'Along the Andes and Down the Amazon.' The present work completes the trilogy which I had in contemplation when, nearly a decade ago, I began the first volume of the series bearing the general title of 'Following the Conquistadores.' It was my good fortune, when about to start on my last journey to the Southern Continent, to be able to enlist Colonel Roosevelt's interest in the wilds of South America. In the first of the following chapters I have given a brief account of the origin and organization of our expedition—an expedition which gradually developed from a small band into a large company of nearly two-score persons, and which has since become known as 'The Roose-

vult Scientific Expedition to South America.' The scientific results of this expedition has been given by my distinguished associate in his interesting work, 'Through the Brazilian Wilderness.' For this reason I have in the present volume confined myself almost entirely to a narrative of the incidents of our journey and a description of the places which we visited together. In this, as in my preceding books on South America, I have had little to say of the material, political or economic conditions of the countries through which we journeyed. These subjects have frequently been discussed by statisticians and specialists. My interests have been rather in the history, the poetry and the romance of the places visited. For, with the exception of Spain, the motherland of the great explorers of and adventurers in so much of the Western Hemispheres, there is no land in the world which is so glamouring as that vast region which witnessed the brilliant feats of arms and the marvelous achievements of a Cortez, a Quesada, a Pizarro, a Valdivia, an Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca. Nor is there another land which casts such a spell on the traveler who has read the life story of these marvelous men whose ardent vitality and generous enthusiasm impelled them to undertake and to achieve what less courageous natures would have deemed impossible."

DICTIONARY OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH. Edited by *James Hastings, D. D.* With the assistance of John A. Selbie, D. D., and John C. Lambert, D. D. Volume I., Aaron-Lystra. Royal 8vo., pp. 729. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

"It has been said that the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* is of more practical value than the Dictionary of the Bible. From all parts of the world has come the request that what that Dictionary has done for the Gospels another should do for the rest of the New Testament. The Dictionary of the Apostolic Church is the answer. It carries the history of the Church as far as the end of the first century. Together with the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, it forms a complete and 'independent Dictionary of the New Testament.'" This quotation from the Preface gives an idea of the scope and purpose of the book. Those who are familiar with the previous work along the same lines will recognize this book at once and welcome it, because it follows the same order of excellence and is supplemental.

There can be no question as to the value of such a work. As soon as we admit the worth of a Dictionary of the Old Testament, and indeed the necessity for it, at the same time, by implication, we acknowledge the still greater value of a Dictionary of the New Testament. As the New Law has taken the place of the Old and is

the code by which we must shape our lives through time to eternity, so the explanation of that Law is of more practical value for us and a right understanding of it is more important.

The contributors to the Dictionary have been chosen because of their special fitness, irrespective of nationality and location. The articles are of a high order of excellence, showing learning, research and fairness in an eminent degree.

It is only fair to Catholic students to say that it is a Protestant Dictionary. By that we mean that the contributors are almost without exception—we have noticed only one Catholic among them—members of Protestant churches. Hence a failure to give due credit or proportion to the Catholic position, especially on doctrinal questions like the Eucharist. The "History of the Church of the First Century," by the Abbé Constant Fouard, gives a very different complexion to the teachings and practices of the Apostolic Church from that which one gets from this Dictionary.

We say this not in a controversial spirit at all, nor in a fault-finding spirit, but as a statement of fact which is fairer to all parties concerned.

LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF THE PAPAL CHANCERY DOWN TO THE TIME OF INNOCENT III. By *Reginald L. Poole*, Hon. Litt. D. 8vo., pp. 211. Cambridge: University Press.

This is an important study, but hardly a popular one. It will appeal to men of learning and to those engaged in this particular field, but the number of such persons must always be quite limited.

For that reason literature on the subject is meagre, and we are not surprised to learn that it has developed very slowly. And yet it is an important one. When we consider the variety of Papal documents, the value of them, especially in past times, when the Papacy was much more intimately connected with the rulers of the world, we can easily understand how important the correct interpretation of Papal documents really is.

There are but few works on the subject, and few writers equipped to deal with it. For this reason Mr. Poole's book is the rarer and more worthy of attention. The study of Papal documents has occupied him for many years. As far back as 1880 he began transcribing Bulls in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum. In 1897 he was called to give regular instruction in diplomatic at his own University at Oxford. Since then in most years he has given a course of lectures on the history of the Papal Chancery and on the characteristics of its literary productions. His election to the Birkbeck Lectures in Ecclesiastical History in 1912 gave him the opportunity to apply himself to the im-

provement and extension of his lectures, and this book is the result.

Besides being important, the subject can be made very interesting by an enthusiast for a willing student. Mr. Poole is an enthusiast. The book shows the conscientious care and patience of the true scholar on every page, and is altogether worthy of the subject. This applies equally to the make-up of the volume, which is dignified and correct in every particular.

The following sketch of the development of the subject is interesting:

The study of Papal as of other documents was founded in France. It is a part of the great learned tradition of the Benedictines of the congregation of St. Maur. The illustrious Jean Mabillon first laid down the principles of diplomatic with a sureness of grasp which has made his treatise the model on which all subsequent work has proceeded. He had an instinct of critical divination which seldom allowed him to go astray, and the little that he says about Papal documents is pregnant with suggestions which have been turned to account by later scholars.

Nearly a century passed before a notable landmark in the study of Papal documents was fixed in a Memoir on the Acts of Innocent Third, by Leopold Delisle, a true successor of Mabillon in a large part of his varied activity. This short article, published in 1858, stands as the pattern for the exposition of the system of the Chancery and of the diplomatic of the middle ages. His influence is apparent in the productions of the French School at Rome.

During the eighteenth century there was great and continuous activity in Italy in the publication of materials for history, and especially for ecclesiastical history, but less interest was shown in the criticism of documents. Pierluigi Galletti, in his book on the Primitivus, furnished a storehouse of evidence bearing upon the early organization of the Chancery, and in 1805 Gaetano Marini produced an invaluable collection of documents preserved, or once preserved, on papyrus. Until the archives were thrown open by Pope Leo XIII. in 1881 access to them was rarely permitted to any one outside the official staff. The exceptional facilities granted to the Danish historian, P. A. Munch, in 1860, resulted in the production of the first scientific treatise on the registers, but this was not published until many years after his death.

The French influence was slow in penetrating into Germany, where Papal documents had been for the most part left to antiquaries, who examined leaden seals, and to lawyers, who looked on the subject as a branch of mainly obsolete jurisprudence. While an immense service was done to history by Philipp Jaffe, himself a

Polish Jew, through the compilation of his great calendar of Papal documents down to 1198, his purpose was historical, not diplomatic. What he aimed at was to make as complete a list of the documents as was possible in order to provide materials for the historian; and however meritorious as a pioneer, his works suffered from the neglect of the great French tradition.

Meanwhile in the German Empire a movement was on foot which had a profound influence on the study. The greatest historical undertaking in that country, the *Monumenta Germania Historica*, was placed under the management of the Berlin Academy in 1872, and three years later its organization was reconstructed and the sphere of its operations extended. In 1876 it was determined to include the Letters of Gregory the Great; in 1880 and 1881 a selection of **Papal Letters of the thirteenth century** was arranged; a year later a proposal for the publication of all that remains of the Register of John Eighth was adopted; and then, by 1884, Theodor Mommsen had taken upon him to edit a fresh "*Liber Pontificalis*," which was at that very time passing through the press under the masterly editorship of the Abbè (now Monsignor) Louis Duchesne.

This enlargement of the work of the monuments, side by side with a vigorous activity of the Institute at Vienna, soon established the German lands in the front rank in the special study of Papal diplomatic which had previously been neglected there.

The great advantages which thus inured to learning were due not only to the fresh stimulus given to Papal diplomatic, but to the fact that the German and Austrian scholars brought to its criticism a long experience and an unsurpassed equipment in the analytical work which they or their teachers had done in connection with the *Monumenta* and with the exploration of imperial documents. On the one hand, there was the laborious collation of the manuscripts and tracing of their affinities; on the other, the palæographical examination of originals, the comparison of handwriting, the penetration of the structure of documents, the analysis of the formulæ, the establishment of Chancery rules. The principles of study were transplanted into a new field, and their results, if at times impaired by excess of refinement and an undue striving after originality, have in the past thirty years proved of remarkable value and importance.

SERMONS DOCTRINAL AND MORAL. By *Right Rev. Thaddeus Hogan, R. M.* 8vo., pp. 320. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

A book of sermons from a man of Monsignor Hogan's learning, experience and reputation should attract more than usual attention.

He brings to the task not only the training of every Catholic priest in faith and morals which he receives in Christian school and ecclesiastical seminary, but he also brings a mind capable of grasping the eternal truths clearly and a power of expression suited to setting them forth vigorously, joined to a ripe experience, which enables him to interpret them in a manner fitted to the capacity and needs of men here and now. If it be useful for preachers to have models placed before them which they may safely follow without fear of departing from the truth, how much more useful to have guides who cannot only assure them that what they say is true, but also that it is practical and that it has been tried and proved? This can truthfully be said of Monsignor Hogan and his sermons. He is a safe guide, and his sermons are practical and effective.

The collection is not made up of sermons for the Sundays of the year in order, but is divided into four parts—the first part on the Church, the second on Catholic Practice and Devotion, the third on Catholic Belief for Mixed Congregations, and the fourth consisting of Addresses. In the first part we find the Church—its Constitution, its Attributes, its Prerogatives, its Marks, its Authority, its Infallibility and kindred subjects treated.

In the second we have such subjects as Prayer, Penance, Death, the Passion, the Holy Name, the Blessed Virgin, Marriage and Christian Education.

In the third part there are sermons on Religious Indifference, the Priesthood, Indulgences, Socialism, Communism and similar subjects.

The fourth part includes addresses for St. Patrick's Day, the Laying of a Corner-stone, on Club Life and on Music.

ADDRESSES AT PATRIOTIC AND CIVIC OCCASIONS. By *Catholic Orators*. Two volumes. 8vo., pp. 295 and 312. New York: Joseph F. Wagner.

"The aim in publishing this collection of Addresses for Patriotic and Civic Occasions is chiefly to place at the disposal of Catholic readers valuable material for ascertaining the position of the Church in regard to momentous questions of modern times and for the vindication of the claims and the policy of the Church against absurd and fallacious charges of her antagonists."

Among the speakers we find Cardinals Gibbons, Farley and O'Connell, Archbishops Ireland and Glennon, Bishops Carroll, Dowling, Anderson and Gunn, and other distinguished ecclesiastics and laymen.

Among the subjects we notice Washington, Lincoln, Columbus, Labor Day, Memorial Day, the Flag, Education, Religious Free-

dom, Religious Bigotry and others equally interesting and important.

A glance at this partial list of subjects and speakers shows the importance of the collection. Here we have subjects treated which are constantly in demand, and which only a limited number of persons are competent to handle. We find them explained by masters who have brought their best thought to bear on them and have chosen weapons from armories not within the reach of all. Of course, they are not all of an equal order of excellence, as they are not all equally important, but taken as a whole they furnish information for the reader and material for the speaker, which is very much needed at the present time and which is not easily gotten.

THE "SUMMA THEOLOGICA" OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS. Part II. (First Part)
Literally Translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province.
Second Number (QQ., XLIX.-LXXIX.). New York: Benziger Brothers.

This is a more than unusually interesting and practical volume of the "Summa," if it is permissible to speak of the work in that way. It is the "Treatise on Habits," divided into two parts, dealing with "Habits in General" and "Habits in Particular," the second part being divided again into "Good Habits," or "Virtues," and "Evil Habits," or "Vices." Under the first subdivision of the second part we find the Intellectual, the Cardinal and the Theological Virtues considered, and then follow chapters on the Beatitudes and the Fruits of the Holy Ghost. Under the second subdivision we find the following questions discussed: Distinction of Sins, Comparison of Sins, Internal and External Causes of Sin, Original Sin and its Effects, Venial Sin as Compared to Mortal Sin, and Venial Sin in Itself.

This outline indicates clearly the sense in which the word practical may be applied to this volume. Other parts of the "Summa" might not interest the lay reader, probably would not, but this part will appeal to any one of ordinary intelligence, and it is an excellent sample of the "Summa" to place before readers of English as distinguished from readers of Latin, in order to draw their attention to the great value of the work and induce them to study it.

PASTORAL LETTERS, ADDRESSES AND OTHER WRITINGS of the *Right Rev. James A. McFaul, D. D., LL. D.*, Bishop of Trenton. Edited by Rev. James J. Powers. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The four Pastorals furnish the foundation of this volume. They are entitled "The Christian Home," "The Christian School," "The Christian Church" and "Some Modern Problems." They occupy

over one hundred pages. They are comprehensive, comprehensible and instructive. They are addressed to the people, were read in the churches of the Trenton Diocese, and would make a very useful book for every family library.

The rest of the volume is made up of addresses, sermons, essays and controversies. The addresses are made to soldiers in camp, to Grand Army men on Memorial Day, to graduates on commencement day, and various other organizations in convention assembled. The sermons include funeral orations, blessing of bells, feasts of saints and investiture of Domestic Prelates. The controversies include Dr. Eliot and his new religion, and modern universities and infidelity.

This outline indicates the extent of the book. It is hardly necessary to speak of its excellence. Bishop McFaul is so well known as a public speaker and writer that the mere announcement of the publication will be sufficient. The public is already aware that he never approaches a subject without being well informed on it, and that he treats it with such vigor, confidence and clearness as to carry conviction to all fair-minded readers.

MEDITATIONS ON THE MYSTERIES OF OUR HOLY FAITH. Together with a Treatise on Mental Prayer, Based on the Work of the Venerable Father Louis de Ponte, S. J. By Rev C. W. Barraud, S. J. Two volumes, 12mo. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The announcement says: "This is an attempt to modernize the compendium of De Ponte for those who are accustomed to his arrangement. A distinctive feature is to be found in the collection of prayers and hymns to be used as colloquies, furnishing excellent matter for St. Ignatius' second method of prayer."

To one who did not know it might seem that there is fashion in methods of meditation, as in other things. The truth is that methods of meditation vary according to the capacity, the needs and the opportunities of those who follow them. They all, of course, agree fundamentally, but they differ much as to method. Formerly and under circumstances which gave the creature more time for prayer, and especially in religious communities, the longer, more elaborate and more detailed method was followed. In later times, and especially in busy communities like the United States, the shorter, simpler and more direct method has come into vogue. In the work before us we have a combination of the two.

The editor has taken one of the greatest exponents of the old school, whose work formerly filled several volumes, and, retaining all the unction and fervor of the original, he has reduced the book to a proportion that will make it suitable and acceptable to modern

needs. The result is admirable—we have all the beauty of the fuller meditation and all the utility of the briefer one.

PLAIN SERMONS BY PRACTICAL PREACHERS. Original Sermons on the Gospels and Epistles of all the Sundays and the Principal Feasts. Two volumes, 12mo., pp. 417 and 382. New York: Joseph F. Wagner.

These two volumes contain two complete sets of sermons for the year. Each volume is a complete course. They are not on the Gospels and Epistles in the strict sense, because they do not treat the Gospel and Epistle of each Sunday in a complete manner. They are, however, suited to the occasion, and not attached to it only.

They are by different authors, but not every one. Some authors appear several times. The most distinguished are Right Rev. Bishop Alexander McDonald, Right Rev. Bishop J. S. Vaughan and Right Rev. James Bellord. The most frequent are Rev. William Graham, Rev. H. G. Hughes, Rev. Thomas J. Gerrard, Rev. John H. Stapleton and Rev. A. B. Sharpe.

In addition to these there are several sermons by Dr. Hugh T. Henry, Dr. Charles Bruehl and others.

All of the contributors are already well known, and their ability and reliability are generally recognized. The sermons are unusually various in style, coming from so many sources. If a preacher were to use them as they are written, he might surprise his hearers by his wonderful versatility. This can easily be avoided by careful adaptation.

